DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 247 203 SO 015 826

TITLE Citizenship Education in Michigan Schools: A Mock Election and Political Awareness Resource Guide. Secondary Level.
INSTITUTION Michigan State Board of Education, Lansing.
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 476p.
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC20 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Citizen Participation; *Citizenship Education; *Elections; High Schools; Instructional Materials; Learning Activities; Lobbying; Mass Media; Political Issues; Political Science; *Politics; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; Simulation; Student Responsibility; Student Rights; United States Government (Course); Units of Study; *Voting
IDENTIFIERS Media Role; *Presidential Campaigns; *Presidential Candidates; Special Interest Groups

ABSTRACT

An eight-chapter resource guide helps high school students become actively involved in the presidential election process. Chapter 1 contains directions for student participation in the 1984 Michigan statewide mock election; these directions are easily adaptable to other state and local mock election projects. Included are sample voter application and balloting forms and planning, scheduling, and election analysis guidelines for teachers. Student activities in chapter 2 have the objectives of examining political philosophies and understanding political terms. Activities in chapter 3 focus on the function, platforms, and histories of American political parties. Chapter 4 examines the role of lobbyists, Political Action Committees, and other special interest groups in the electoral process. Chapter 5, "New Hampshire to November," helps students understand the progression of activities leading up to and including the election. The process of securing a place on the ballot; the roles of committees, caucuses, and conventions; campaign financing; and the electoral college are examined in separate learning activities. In chapter 6, "Campaign Techniques," students study the media, political cartoons, and advertising. The final two chapters, chapter 7 and 8, examine students' rights and responsibilities as voters. An appendix contains resources, acknowledgements, and a copy of the Lobby Registration Act. (LP)

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Citizenship Education in Michigan Schools:

A Mock Election and Political Awareness Resource Guide

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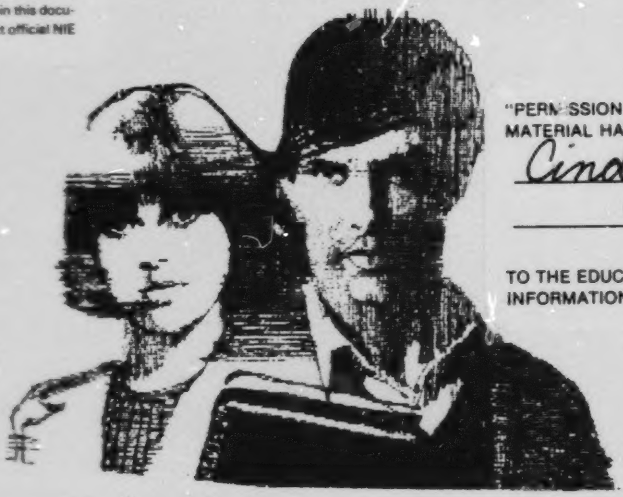

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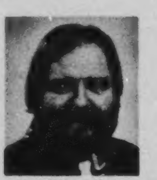
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FOREWORD

The primary purpose of social studies education in Michigan is to provide opportunities for all students to acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes which will enable them to become responsible and participating citizens in our democracy. A fourth important element in social studies education is social participation.

This document, Citizenship Education in Michigan Schools: A Mock Election and Political Awareness Resource Guide, has been primarily designated to assist high school teachers and other educators in their efforts to have their students involved in those types of community activities which will help them better understand: (1) the role and purpose of government, (2) the structure and function of government, (3) the political process and, (4) the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. It is hoped that teachers will find the suggested learning activities which center on the political process and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship to be particularly useful.

This is the first of three documents which address the need for students at all education levels to learn about our democratic government and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Plans have been made to develop in the immediate future similar resource guides for use at the elementary and middle school levels.

I wish to extend my thanks to the Genesee and Wayne Intermediate School Districts for their support and cooperation in this endeavor. My thanks also extend to others who have assisted and whose names appear in the back of the document.

Phillip E. Runkel
Superintendent of Public
  Instruction

INTRODUCTION

Education for citizenship is a major goal of Michigan schools. Students need to develop an awareness of the national, state, and local political processes that affect their lives and the lives of others. The underlying principle behind all the activities and suggestions in this book, intended for grades 9-12, is that students should participate in the political process. Students need to learn about opportunities to play an active role in the political affairs of the nation, state, and local community. Young people need to participate in experiences that will help them develop a sense of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. To that end, this book is dedicated.

One way to insure involvement with, and understanding of, the political process is to have students participate in a mock election. The first chapter, "The Michigan Mock Election", has activities and directions for participating in the 1984 State-wide Mock Election. The following chapters contain activities and information about political philosophies and parties, special interest groups and decision making, elected officials and voting. As with the mock election, the purpose of all the material is to help students become actively involved in the political process. The activities included in this document are consistent with the Michigan Department of Education's documents entitled, The Essential Goals and Objectives for Social Studies Education and The Common Goals of Michigan Education.

These activities are suggestions and not meant to be definitive. Teachers will be able to choose those that best fit into their curriculum. Information is given as background and is not intended to be exhaustive. We wanted to provide sufficient activities and information so that teachers could use this guide easily. On the other hand, it is a structure on which teachers could build by developing additional activities and resources. Beginning with Chapter two, "Political Philosophies", students learn historical information, then, in the remaining chapters about politics in general, and finally, focus on how they, as individuals, can become involved. Students' rights and responsibilities as a voting member of society are stressed throughout the book.

Following Chapter one is an evaluation form covering the mock election. At the end of the book is an evaluation for Chapters two through eight. The last section contains activities for motivation, a general resource list, and a glossary. Also, there are sheets on which to record additional suggestions to be incorporated into this manual.

The Michigan Department of Education plans to develop, in the future, resource guides similar to this one for use at middle/junior high and elementary levels.

Th: Jefferson
John Adams

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The 1984 Student Mock Election Project will take place on November 1, 1984. The Michigan Mock Election is part of a nation-wide Mock Election. This grass-roots, non-partisan, educational project is designed to combat the growing problem of voter apathy and lack of civic awareness. This exercise in citizenship is only one of the ways that Americans can actively battle our democratic system's greatest enemy, apathy. In the last presidential elections, only 46% of the eligible electorate voted. Only 15% of the eligible voters between the ages of 18 and 24 voted.

Senator Edward Zovinsky (D-Neb.) and Richard Richards, former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, are serving as Co-Chairs of the national mock election project. Former Presidents, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, are serving as honorary co-chairs. Both Republican and Democratic parties have endorsed the program, as well as the United States Department of Education and forty-five major national educational and civil organizations.

On November first, a computerized map, at the mock election national headquarters in Fort Worth, will track state returns for presidential, congressional and gubernatorial races. Returns will be updated throughout the evening, and reported to the media until the winners are declared. The mock election is sponsored by the Teachers Guide to Television Family Institute, a non-profit, non-partisan organization, which is located in New York.

The Michigan Department of Education, in cooperation with the Genesee and Wayne Intermediate School Districts' staff is coordinating the Michigan mock election activities. High school students (grades 9-12) from all areas of the state will have an opportunity to take part in the activities which are designed to educate and encourage active participation in the political process by young people.

REMEMBER: NOVEMBER 1 - MOCK ELECTION

PARTICIPATING IN THE MICHIGAN MOCK ELECTION

Usually an experienced social studies teacher or the social studies department chairperson is in charge of the school election. As nearly as possible, the school election procedures should follow the regular election.

It is very important that:

...The simulation be as realistic as possible

...Students learn the importance of registering to vote

...Students learn to identify all the issues and make informed decisions

...Students learn to mark a ballot correctly

Preparations for the Mock Election are of two types. One is preparing students for actual voting procedures. The other is instructing students about the offices to be filled and the issues to be decided. The major part of this book, chapters two through eight, is designed to educate high school students in their rights and responsibilities as citizens. This material is intended to help students learn about the electoral process and their elected officials, and to learn how to make informed decisions, not only in the mock election, but throughout their lives.

VOTE
Michigan
Mock
Election
84

SUGGESTED PROCEDURES TO BE FOLLOWED ARE:

1. Prepare poll cards or registration book.
2. Select and train election officials
3. Register the prospective voters
4. Prepare correct number of ballots
5. Number the ballots for election day
6. Arrange realistic voting stations and procedures for secret balloting
7. Select and train tellers for tallying votes
8. Prepare for counting ballots and report returns

A sample ballot is provided on the next page, and because this is a state-wide program, only national and state elected positions are included. School districts are encouraged to add local candidates and proposals. The more students can identify with the people and issues in the election, the more apt they are to become personally involved. Local candidates are usually agreeable and helpful about speaking to high school students. Also, students are better able to make their own decisions about local candidates and issues. If students feel an ownership about their voting decisions, they are more likely to continue to vote in the following years.

BALLOT

Name of candidate for major and minor parties to be filled in for all of the offices.

President

Vice-President

Senator

State Board of Education

Supreme Court

Who is going to win:

U. S. House

U. S. Senate

Michigan Senate

Michigan House of Representatives

All state wide proposals

(list them here)

EXAMPLE OF AN APPLICATION TO VOTE

(Poll List)

Poll Book

No. __________

Grade ________

I hereby certify that I am a registered and qualified elector of the above school and hereby make application to vote in this election.

____

(Signature of Voter)

____

(Residence Address)

Ballots

Numbered ________________

Approved __________________________

(Inspector of Election)

SUGGESTED SCHEDULE FOR MOCK ELECTION

October 1-5	Candidates' positions on issues will be studied and discussed, using a variety of media
October 8-12	The effect of interest groups and campaign techniques will be studied and discussed, using current examples
October 15-19	Student representatives of the candidates for national, state, and local offices will present their candidate's position on issues. A question and answer time will be provided.
October 22-26	School wide registration. Students must be registered to vote. Conduct public opinion polls in school.
October 29-31	Ballots prepared, election officials trained, polling booths set up.
November 1	ELECTION DAY Ballots counted, results phoned in to the Michigan Department of Education.

Michigan results will be phoned in to the National mock election headquarters in Fort Worth.

Television coverage will report results of mock election the evening of November first.

REPORTING YOUR BALLOT RESULTS

All high schools participating in the 1984 Mock Election will report their school's ballot results to Election Headquarters on November 1, 1984. Calls will be accepted between 9:30 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. Our Election Headquarters will be in the State Board of Education meeting room.

In order to accommodate the large number of call-ins, we will schedule the time each participating school will report their results to Election Headquarters.

Please complete the following form and return it to:

Gary S. Cass
Michigan Department of Education
Office of Technical Assistance
P. O. Box 30008
Lansing, Michigan 48909

Upon receiving this form, Gary Cass will assign a time for you to call Election Headquarters and will also provide you with the telephone number to call. This will be communicated through a direct mailing.

We are asking all participating districts to return this form to Gary by October 15, 1984.

1984 STUDENT MOCK ELECTION

NOVEMBER 1, 1984

Name of High School ______________________________

Address ______________________________ City ____________________

Name of Teacher/Advisor/Contact Person ______________________________

Work Telephone Number (____) ____________________

Home Address ______________________________

City ______________________________ Zip Code ____________________

Schools participating in the November 1, 1984, Student Mock Election are expected to report their ballot results between 9:30 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. My school's preferred time to telephone Election Headquarters is as follows:

____

**Gary Cass of the Michigan Department of Education will coordinate the time schedule for the call-ins. Upon receiving this form, he will contact you to inform you of your call-in time as well as the number to call.

SAMPLE OF FORM

SCHOOLS WILL RECEIVE AFTER SENDING IN PREFERRED TIME FORMS

______________________________ High School will telephone Election Headquarters on November 1, 1984, at ______________________________ to report your school's ballot results.

The telephone number to call is (517) ______________________.

When reporting your school's cumulative ballot results, the person calling the Election Headquarters should:

1. identify the participating high school,
2. identify the name of the teacher, advisor, or project contact person, and
3. report the tabulated high school results for each candidate, issue, and ballot question.

We look forward to hearing from you on November 1, 1984, at

__________________.

Record your school election returns on this sheet before calling State Mock Election Headquarters at (517) 373-3900

Name ________________ Group ________________ School District ______________

School Election Returns For:

National: President

State: Senator

State Board of Education members

Supreme Court

Who will gain control of the U. S. Senate?

Who will gain control of the U. S. House of Representatives?

Who will gain control of the Michigan Senate?

Who will gain control of the Michigan House of Representatives?

State Proposals

(to be filled in)

POST ELECTION ANALYSIS

Discuss with students the results of the mock election.

1. Did the polls correctly predict the outcome?

2. Do students feel they made informed decisions?

3. How was the mock election like/different from a real election?

NOVEMBER 1984
MOCK ELECTION
EVALUATION FORM

Name of High School ______________________________

Name of District ______________________________

1. Please indicate your present position.

___ Board Member

___ Building Administrator

___ Central Office Administrator

___ Interested Citizen

___ Student

___ Superintendent

___ Teacher

___ Other school employee________ (specify)

___ Other ____________________ (specify)

2. Please rate how well you understood the mock election process. Check only one box in each column.

Understanding prior to the electoral process.	Understanding after the electoral process.
___ Excellent	___ Excellent
___ Good	___ Good
___ Fair	___ Fair
___ Poor	___ Poor

3. Overall, how well did the mock election process work in your school?

___ Excellent

___ Good

___ Fair

___ Poor

4. Overall, how valuable was the mock election process?

___ Very valuable

___ Valuable

___ Somewhat valuable

___ Not valuable or only slightly valuable

5. What topics or parts of the mock election were most valuable?

6. What topics or parts of the mock election process were either weak or missing altogether?

7. What suggestions can you make to improve future mock elections?

8. Please provide any additional comments regarding the mock election.

Please return completed survey to:

Janice I. Blanck, Research Consultant
Genesee Intermediate School District
2413 West Maple Avenue
Flint, Michigan 48507

Thank you for completing this survey. Your assistance is appreciated.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

Students need to understand the basic differences in political philosophies. By comparing and contrasting the various ideologies, they will better understand why there are different political views. This understanding can lead to a thoughtful examination of their own beliefs. To become involved in the political process, young adults will have to think through the beliefs they held as children, not to change them necessarily, but to understand them.

ACTIVITY 1

ISSUES IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

1. Relationship of Economy to Government. The question is, how much and what kind of economic activity does the government engage in? The possible models are private enterprise (individuals or private corporations run and control the activity), and government enterprise (often called state capitalism or in some cases socialism). There are other models (such as co-ops or the like) but these are the main ones. The dimension of variation is the extent of government involvement in the enterprise. The United States has mostly capitalism. Sweden and Britain have more state capitalism. The USSR has mostly government run enterprise but does not allow private competition with the government.

2. Private Welfare vs. Public Welfare. Some societies regulate individual decisions for the "public good" that other societies leave to individuals. For example, in education and training a society may exercise planning and do testing of aptitude and talent for the purpose of deciding which people will receive which kinds of education and/or training based on assessments of societal need at the time. Other societies let individuals, schools and professional societies make the decisions.

Help students to understand the issues involved in political philosophy. Using numbers one and two above as a starting place, help students understand the differences in ideology between groups, and how those differences affect specific issues.

> What are the basic assumptions that distinguish political philosophies?
>
> Identify the underlying principles for varying philosophies are.

ACTIVITY 2

1. Take an issue that has been in the news frequently, like the arms race, and through news media, discover what stand people with varying philosophies take. Trace this stand back to underlying beliefs.

2. Use the opposing views of the Federalists under Hamilton and the Democratic-Republicans under Jefferson as a springboard for discussion of the divergence of political opinion as a tradition in the United States.

3. Compare political parties and their influence in the Soviet Union and in the United States:

    1. membership
    2. effect on the election process

4. Encourage students to bring in news articles re: dissidents and/or anti-administration political views in this country and others.

Benj. Franklin
John Adams
Th: Jefferson

ACTIVITY 3

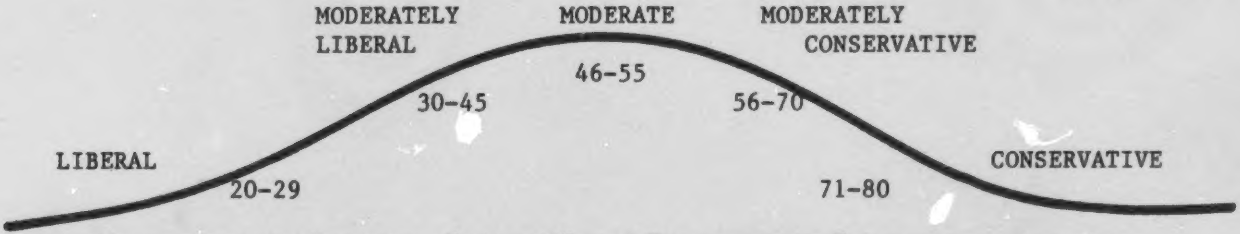
IDEOLOGY AND ISSUES

INSTRUCTIONS: Circle the number 4, 3, 2, or 1 that appears next to each statement.

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Dis-Agree	Disagree Strongly
1. Federal environmental quality regulations should be relaxed.	4	3	2	1
2. Consumer safety and health laws should be relaxed.	4	3	2	1
3. Equal opportunity laws should be relaxed.	4	3	2	1
4. The Department of Education should be abolished.	4	3	2	1
5. Voluntary prayer and Scripture reading should be allowed in public schools.	4	3	2	1
6. The federal government should not pay the cost of abortions for women on welfare.	4	3	2	1
7. The federal government should not restrict the ownership of handguns.	4	3	2	1
8. The United States should increase military aid to El Salvador.	4	3	2	1
9. Federal defense spending should be greatly increased.	4	3	2	1
10. Faced with rapidly increasing energy costs, the government should encourage further development of nuclear power.	4	3	2	1
11. The cost of government social-welfare programs is too burdensome for taxpayers. Spending on these programs must be reduced.	4	3	2	1

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Dis-Agree	Disagree Strongly
12. President Reagan's budget and taxing program should be passed by Congress.	4	3	2	1
13. The size of government must be reduced.	4	3	2	1
14. There should be a Constitutional Amendment outlawing abortions.	4	3	2	1
15. The government should give greater priority to combatting crime.	4	3	2	1
16. The Department of Energy should be abolished.	4	3	2	1
17. The United States must oppose the expansion of Communism anywhere in the world.	4	3	2	1
18. The government-mandated 55 MPH speed limit should be lifted.	4	3	2	1
19. The powers of OSHA, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, should be lessened.	4	3	2	1
20. The United States should strengthen ties with Taiwan, the Republic of China.	4	3	2	1

ADD UP YOUR TOTAL, YOU CAN FIND YOUR POLITICAL IDEOLOGY ON THE SCALE BELOW.*



* The meaning of the terms "liberal" and "conservative" depends on how they are used, who uses them, when they are used, why they are used, and other factors. Therefore, this scale is just suggestive, rather than rigid, in its classification.

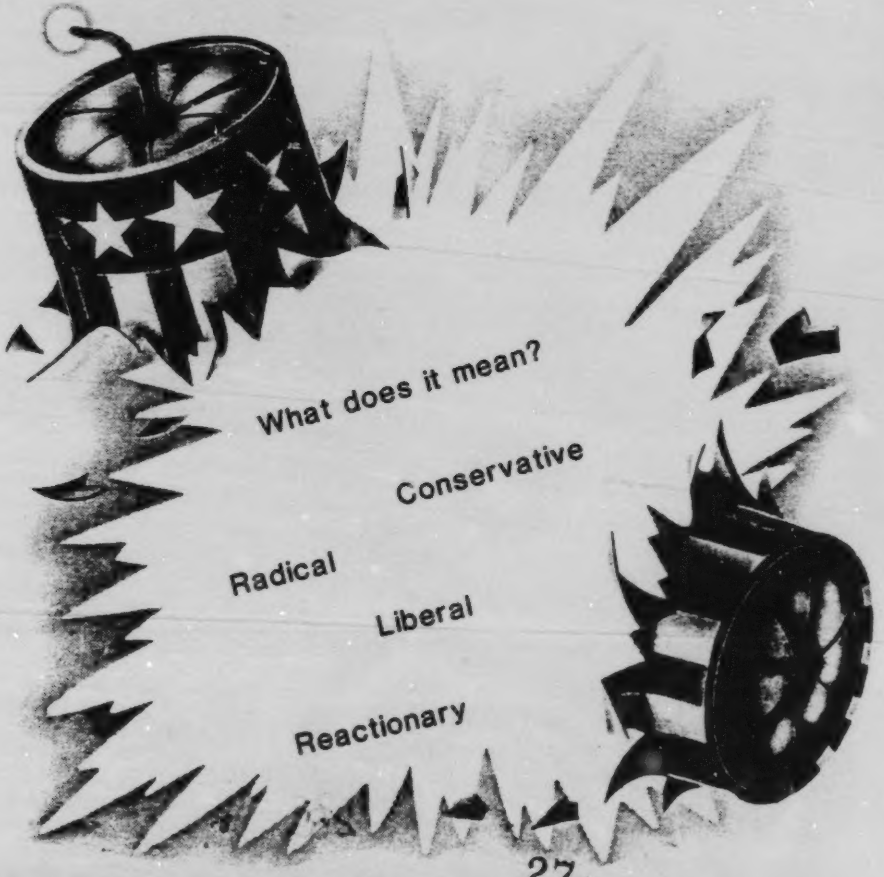
From: Social Education, January, 1982

ACTIVITY 4

POLITICAL TERMS

1. Identify and explain all major differences in the outlooks of conservatives and liberals. Include differences in their attitudes toward change, attitudes toward human nature, toward reform and toward the role of authority and individual freedom.
2. Define the labels--Radical and Reactionary.
3. Go through the last several Newsweek or Time magazines. Look for good examples of a group or individual that is Conservative, Liberal, Reactionary, or Radical.
4. Write a brief explanation placing yourself on the spectrum (Reactionary-Conservative-Liberal-Radical). Explain your placement.

On completion of the activities, have a class discussion bringing out reasons for the students' decisions.



ACTIVITY 5

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

1. What is the purpose of a political spectrum?

2. List the groups and individuals on the right side of the political spectrum.

   Why did you select the ones you did?

3. List the groups and individuals on the left side of the political spectrum.

4. Define the words radical and liberal and give examples.

5. Define the labels moderate, conservative, reactionary and give examples of each.

6. Look for examples in the media where the labels, in your opinion, are misused.

ACTIVITY 6

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

1. Use historical references to famous socialists, communists, liberals and conservatives to illustrate varying attitudes toward societal institutions and problems.

2. Assign specific viewpoints to individual students, i.e., communist, liberal, etc., for the purpose of a limited debate. Give students a topic at least 48 hours prior to the debate. The remainder of the class will act as supporters of the debaters. Divide the supporters into small groups who will meet with the debaters at least once, in class, before the debate. Encourage debaters and supporters to research their topic and their attitudes of famous people who share their political orientation.

ACTIVITY 7

EXAMPLE OF A MINOR PARTY

LIBERTARIAN CHIEF SEES MAJOR ADVANCE

By The Associated Press

The Libertarian Party's presidential candidate says the American two-party system is a myth that could be demolished this year as his group picks up support.

David Bergland's political vision also includes drastically reduced government, greater freedom for individuals and the repeal of the federal income tax, defense treaties and local property zoning laws.

He predicted Tuesday that his party's philosophy of minimal government involvement in people's lives will attract more voters every year.

"The Libertarian Party is the third-largest party in the country, and the fastest-growing," he said at a state Capitol news conference.

"People are tired of wasting their votes on Republican and Democratic candidates. I think 1984 is the year that American's demolish the myth of the two-party system."

Libertarians generally call for virtually no government control over an individual's life, speech, action and property. Bergland called for such freedom as long as the rights of others are also respected.

The only two legitimate functions of government, he said, are to defend the national and the constitutional rights of its citizens.

He called for abolition of the federal income tax and local zoning laws, for example. He called instead for private organizations to raise money for necessary projects, and private agreements to determine how land is used.

"We could have a national defense lottery," he said, suggesting one way money could be raised.

"Property values are protected better by private deed covenants," he added. "Freedom tends to work better for people than a heavy-handed approach."

The party's foreign policy, he said, calls for "neutrality, peace and free trade," including a reversal of the nuclear arms race and avoiding military alliances with other nations.

The 48-year-old Bergland, an attorney from Costa Mesa, Calif., was selected as presidential candidate at the party's convention last September. He was in Michigan to attend a state party convention scheduled this weekend in Ann Arbor.

He said that 1980 Libertarian presidential candidate Ed Clark received more than 1 million votes, and that the party expects to be on the ballot in every state this year.

"It looks like we're going to succeed in all of them," he said. He said there are about 50 Libertarian office-holders across the country, all at the local level.

Have students find articles about other minor parties.

POLITICAL PARTIES

CAPSULE HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

1791-1824
Formation of First Political Parties

Major Parties:
  Federalist (Hamiltonian)
  Democratic-Republican (Jeffersonian)

There is no mention of political parties in the Constitution, nor was it anticipated that they would be created. However, very shortly after the ratification of the Constitution and the convening of a government under it, parties began to form.

The first political parties were organized in Congress around the leadership of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Their purpose was to press for legislation favored by their members. Hamilton's Federalists advocated a strong central government and favored rapid commercial and industrial development. Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans endeavored to protect states' rights and to preserve the agrarian society of the young nation. By 1793 all representatives and senators were affiliated with one or the other party.

Almost immediately the role of parties expanded beyond affecting legislation to support for the election of favored candidates. With the resignation of George Washington in 1796, the newly formed parties began to compete for the presidency.

1824-1850
Rapid Growth of the Electorate and the Democratic Party

Major Parties
  Democratic
  Whig

By 1816, the two original parties had lost much of their support. The Jeffersonian party was renamed and transformed into the Democratic party; the Hamiltonians were succeeded first by the National Republicans, and then in 1836 by the Whigs. Andrew Jackson was the leader of the Democratic party and the key figure of this period. One way Jackson strengthened the role of political parties was through institution of the "spoils system." Party followers were rewarded with jobs and other favors. Jackson's appeal to the common man also helped bring more people into the political process. In 1824, only 350,000 people voted in the presidential election. By 1848, almost 3,000,000 people cast ballots. The major beneficiary was Jackson's Democratic party, which controlled the presidency for 12 consecutive years. The Whigs were led by Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun. The party was essentially an anti-Jackson coalition of northern businessmen and supporters of states' rights and slavery from the South.

1850-1880
Civil War, Reconstruction and the Supremacy of the Republican Party

Major Parties
  Republican
  Democratic

The history of the political parties in this period reflect the history of the nation. The issue of slavery split the Democratic party and led to its decline. In 1860, there were two Democratic presidential candidates--one from the North and one for the South. Meanwhile anti-slavery forces joined together to form the Republican party. Beginning with the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, the Republicans controlled the presidency for 24 consecutive years. The bitterness of Reconstruction (1868-76S), imposed by a Republican administration, led to domination of the South by the Democratic party. Toward the end of this period, the Republican party moved away from its radical origins to become the party of business and industry.

1880-1929
Popular Unrest, Reform and Third Parties

Major Parties
  Republican
  Democratic
  Populist
  Progressive

The last quarter of the 19th century was a period of rapid industrialization and disruption of traditional ways of life. Social and economic conflicts led to major political battles at all levels of government. One result was the growth of numerous "third parties." The Prohibition party of the 1870's sought to outlaw the sale and production of liquor; the Greenback party of the same time opposed the gold standard. The Socialist Labor party reflected the interests of industrial workers and advocated a socialist economic system.

The two most important third parties were the Populist, or People's party, and the Progressive party. The Populists represented the views of farmers, pioneer settlers and other groups whose interests were threatened by the growing power of industrialists and railroads. The election of 1896 marked the beginning of the end for the Populists. William Jennings Bryan, a Populist hero, was nominated for president by the Democratic party. At first this appeared to be a victory for the Populists, but it also led to their decline, as the Democratic party absorbed many of their positions and supporters. The Progressive party fought for reform of the political process and increased regulation of business by government. While they never won the presidency, they did win victories on such issues as direct election of senators, creation of the Food and Drug Administration and the first income tax.

1929-1968
The New Deal Coalition

Major Parties
  Democratic
  Republican

Following the progressive reforms of the previous decades and Word War I, the United States pursued isolationism in foreign policy and promotion of business at home. This "era of normalcy" was brought to an abrupt end by the economic crash of 1929. Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt won an overwhelming victory in 1932. His "New Deal" policies became the basis for a coalition of labor, urban poor, immigrants, blacks and other groups under the banner of the Democratic party. The Democrats controlled the presidency for 28 of the next 36 years, and Congress for 34 of those years.

1968-1983
Parties Today

Major Parties
  Democratic
  Republican

The election of Republican Richard Nixon in 1968 brought an end to the Democrats' eight-year rule of the White House. The Democrats, who in the 1960's had demonstrated a high degree of party unity, began to suffer intra-party division over the Vietnam War and other economic and social issues. In 1972, President Nixon was easily reelected when the Democratic candidate, George McGovern, was considered too radical by many traditional party members. The effects of the Watergate scandal (1973-74) began to be felt shortly thereafter, however, as President Nixon was forced to resign, and the image of the Republican party was severely tainted. This trend continued through the 1976 presidential elections as Democrat Jimmy Carter narrowly defeated Nixon's replacement, Gerald Ford. Watergate appeared to be all but forgotten by 1980, however, when the Republican party not only regained the presidency, but also won control of the Senate for the first time since 1952.

An important result of the political shift of the 1970's is that both parties have lost many of their traditional supporters and that more people are identifying themselves as "independents." Third party candidates ran for the presidency in 1968, 1972 and again in 1980. As we move further into the 1980's many questions arise concerning the future of our party system. Will there be another realignment like the ones in the past? Will the two-party system splinter into a multi-party system like those in Europe? Or, as more people declare themselves independent, will parties cease to play an important role in our political process?

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ACTIVITY 1

POLITICAL PARTIES THROUGH HISTORY

This activity will help you understand why political parties were formed and how they have changed through history. Answer these questions on your own paper.

1. According to the article, why were political parties formed? What purposes did they serve throughout history?
2. Pick any national election year in U.S. history. Using U.S. history textbooks or sources from a library, identify the political parties existing at the time.
3. What were the names of the political parties?
4. What did each of the political parties stand for?
5. What people were likely to be members and support each political party's philosophy?
6. What kinds of activities did people engage in to support political parties and candidates running for public office?
7. How are these activities similar to and different from those engaged in today?

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ACTIVITY 2

Have students research the following minor political parties in American politics and attempt to find out what their Platform represented:

Liberty Party (1840-1844)
Free Soil (1848-1852)
American "Know Nothing" (1856)
Constitutional Union (1860)
Labor Reform (1872)
Prohibition (1872-present)
Greenback (1876-1884)
Socialist Labor (1892-present)
Populist "People's" (1892-1908)
Socialist (1900-present)
Progressive (1912-1924)
Communist (1924-present)
Socialist Workers (1948-present)
States' Rights (1948)
People's Progressive (1948-1952)
American Independent (1968-1972)
Libertarian (1972-present)

It would also be interesting to find reasons for the survival of various parties--based on platforms.

INFORMATION SHEET

CITIZENS AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The United States Constitution made no provision for political parties, but early in our history two parties evolved and became an integral part of our system of government. The Democratic and Republican parties have been dominant although names and make-ups have changed several times. Minor parties have been formed by citizens who found their views not represented by the major parties. In the 1972 presidential election, eight parties appeared on the ballot in Michigan: Democratic, Republican, American Independent, Socialist Labor, Human Rights, Socialist Workers, Communist, and Conservative Party of Michigan. The six minor parties received 1.9 percent of the total statewide vote.

Political parties are as much a part of modern democracy as the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. Parties nominate candidates for political offices, formulate principles they support (platforms), support or oppose legislation, raise funds, and campaign for their candidates. The party provides administrative management personnel for the executive branch and leadership for the legislative branch. Parties are organized at the local (usually county), state, and national levels.

Membership in a political party is voluntary, and many voters prefer to remain independent. The voter in Michigan is not required to register as a member of a specific political party. The person who chooses to vote in a primary election must vote for candidates of only one party, selected in the privacy of the polling booth.

The Michigan Election Law, Act 116 of Public Acts of 1954, as amended, recognizes the role of the party in the political process and defines its structure, activities, and duties within the state.

A party must have received more than 5 percent of the total vote cast nationwide for the President in the last presidential election in order to have a candidate on the presidential primary ballot (168.613). Parties whose principal candidate received at least 5 percent of the total cast statewide for all candidates for the Michigan Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen may have candidates on the August primary ballot. The term "principal candidate" of any party shall be construed to mean the candidate whose name appears nearest the top of the ballot. This does not include the presidential candidate.

Qualified parties not meeting these requirements must nominate their candidates by caucuses or conventions (168.532). A party may continue as a qualified political party as long as its principal candidate received at least 1 percent of the total number of votes cast for the successful candidate for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen (168.685).

New parties may place candidates on the November election ballot if the chairperson and secretary of the state central committee of that party file with the Secretary of State (at least 6 months before an election) a certificate stating the name of the party accompanied with petitions signed (within a 6 month period) by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast for the successful candidate for the Michigan Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen. Petitions must be signed by at least 100 residents in each of at least 9 congressional districts of the state and not more than 35 percent of the minimum required signatures may be resident electors of any one congressional district (168.685).

They must also receive "yes" votes in the primary election on the question "Shall ________ Party be on the General Election ballot?" equal to at least 3/10 of one percent of all votes cast in the primary election.

Participating in a Political Party

Active participation in a political party is one of the most effective ways for an individual to be heard in government and to learn how our election process works. A citizen who participates in a political party speaks twice in choosing the people who govern: first within the party and again on election day. The citizens communicate their views to party leaders on important issues and preferences for candidates, delegates to conventions, and party officials. Influence is multiplied when united with others.

A citizen may serve a party in different ways and in different kinds of party organizations. There are official organizations as well as groups formed by persons with common interests: women, blacks, young adults, teenagers, retired persons, and others. Many of these are permanent organizations with by-laws and officers.

At election time many temporary groups are formed, such as CITIZENS FOR GEORGE WASHINGTON. Most of these groups do active campaigning, promote enthusiasm, hold social events, and raise money. Special interest political groups are also formed outside the party structure and, at times, across party lines.

If your party is not listed in the phone book, or in the Yellow Pages under "Political Organizations", write to the state headquarters. (See Resources page.) They will be happy to help you find the nearest organization in which you would be interested.

Promoting Participation in Politics

Students can promote citizen participation in state and local politics. Here are some suggested activities.

- Learn about the organization and operation of political parties.
- Observe party conventions and caucuses.
- Keep a scrapbook of newsclippings about candidates, political issues, delegates to conventions.
- Ask a precinct delegate or a party officer to talk about party structure.
- Ask delegates to talk about county, state or national convention.
- Display brochures telling about all parties.
- Prepare a political quiz.
- Display a list of jobs to be done for a political party.
- Write and dramatize a skit, "What good are political parties?"
- Conduct a debate, "Political parties should be abolished", or choose your own title.
- Publicize the dates of party conventions.
- Encourage students to voice their views to convention delegates, on both issues and candidates.

From The Green Grass Roots, League of Women Voters, 1980

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why is our democracy based on the two-party system when most other democracies have multi-party systems?

2. What are the functions of political parties?

3. What were the political parties on the last state ballot?

4. In what ways have the Republican and Democratic parties changed over time?

   Republicans in recent years have been characterized as conservative, but that wasn't always the case.

5. Have students make up a political party (or more) based on their developing political philosophies.

6. What effect does the electoral system have on the two-party system?

HOW TO UNDERSTAND POLITICAL PARTIES

Registration and voting are the first steps in participating in the political process. Another step is becoming involved in political party activities. Political parties recruit and nominate candidates for office, determine overall approaches to issues and work to get out the vote for their candidates.

Candidates for general election are chosen by primaries or party caucuses, depending on the state. In most states, you must be affiliated with a political party in order to vote in that party's primary (a "closed" primary). In many caucus states, political parties hold precinct caucuses--actually neighborhood meetings--open to all eligible voters who declare themselves members of the party. The precinct caucus is part of the process that adopts the state party platform, selects party officials, endorses candidates for state and national offices, and in presidential years, selects the party delegates to the national convention. Republicans, Democrats and minor parties are working to encourage greater participation, especially by women, minorities, youth, retired people and other groups not traditionally involved in party decision making. Democratic party rules require that each state's delegation to the 1984 national convention be composed of an equal number of men and women. Republican party rules require that each state try to have an equal representation of men and women on their delegations to the 1984 convention.

From Social Education, February 1984

POLITICAL PARTY PLATFORMS

Help students to understand how platforms are written.

What issues would be included in a platform?

The Democrats and Republicans write an issues paper for Michigan. Many issues are considered for adoption by the members of the issues committee, but few are actually approved.

What issues might be considered?

What must be taken into consideration when deciding which ones to adopt?

The issue papers can be obtained by contacting the Republican and Democratic parties.

For what audience are platforms written?

How closely is the platform and presidential candidate related since platforms are written before the national conventions?

Compare the Democratic and Republican platforms. How are they different/alike?

INTEREST GROUPS

"In every country where man is free to think and to speak, differences of opinion will arise from differences of perception and the imperfection of reason."

- Thomas Jefferson

The role played by interest groups is often overlooked in the study of government, but it is an integral part of our political process. Corporations, labor unions, trade associations, environmental groups, and many other organizations employ lobbyists to ensure that their views are made known to legislators. In so doing, interest groups play a positive role in the political process. They provide legislators with valuable information and ensure that the interests of their members are represented in the policymaking process.

Since representatives and senators depend on their staffs for information, lobbyists often work directly with legislative staff members. In addition, interest groups have begun to employ new methods to persuade legislators. One of the most effective of these has been mass mailing. Organizations with computerized mailing lists can elicit floods of mail from their supporters. When legislators receive thousands of letters on one side of an issue they are often persuaded to support that position.

There are thousands of lobbyists in Washington and around the country, representing many different interests. Some represent narrow special interest groups, such as tobacco farmers or chemical manufacturers, others represent more broad-based groups, such as labor unions or the chamber of commerce. All tend to see issues from the point of view of the group they represent.

As you read the articles in this chapter, think about the role interest groups play in expressing the often competing views of millions of Americans. How would you try to convince a member of Congress or the executive branch to support your position on an issue?

WHAT IS A LOBBYIST?

Michael Ware

Michael Ware is assistant director for legislative affairs for Conoco Inc. He draws on his personal experience as a lobbyist to provide insight into the nature of lobbying. Mr. Ware asserts that the main function of a lobbyist is to educate members of Congress and that lobbyists are indispensable to the political process.

"A lobbyist," Senator James Reed of Missouri once said, "is anyone who opposes legislation I want." Probably most people feel that way. Lobbyists are envisioned as unshaven, cigar-smoking political "fixers" carrying money-filled bags so they can bribe legislators.

Actually, although the term lobbyist is held in low esteem, everyone to some degree is a lobbyist. Any person who attempts to persuade someone else, whether it is in regard to community activities, the PTA or social welfare programs, is actually lobbying.

Who is a Lobbyist?

Legally, a lobbyist is a petitioner of the government exercising a right granted in the First Amendment of the Constitution:

> Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

The assumption that all individuals and groups are entitled to representation in the making of public decisions forms the basis for all lobbying activities. It is the true essence of participatory government.

The Washington Lobbyist, by Lester W. Milbrath (Rand McNally and Co., 1963, pp. 7-8), describes the lobbying functions in a more scholarly manner:

> Despite the imprecision of the word "lobbying," some boundaries can be defined. First, lobbying relates only to governmental decision-making. Decisions made by private organizations or by corporations may be influenced by special interests within those

> organizations or from without, but they do not affect the entire body politic.
>
> Second, all lobbying is motivated by a desire to influence governmental decisions (many actions and events affect the outcome of governmental decisions), but if they are not accompanied by an intent to influence, there is no lobbying.
>
> Third, lobbying implies the presence of an intermediary or representative as a communication link between citizens and governmental decision-makers. A citizen who, of his own volition and by his own means, sends a message to a governmental decision-maker is not considered a lobbyist--though he is attempting to influence governmental decisions. Some may not agree with this stipulation. However, if all citizens are potential lobbyists and if all voters are lobbyists (since voting is, in a sense, a message sent with intent to influence), the word lobbying would lose its usefulness.
>
> Fourth, all lobbying involves communication. Without communication, it is impossible to influence a decision. On the other hand, not all communication--only that which attempts to influence governmental decisions--is lobbying.
>
> Broadly defined, then, lobbying is the stimulation and transmission of communication by someone other than a citizen acting on his own behalf directed to a governmental decision-maker with the hope of influencing his decision.

"If It Walks Like a Duck..."

The concept that any lobbying is corrupt is fairly commonplace. The reasons why are simple. A general assumption is that the "public interest" is somehow subverted by the lobbying process. The defeated party in a policy battle often charges that the opponents won because of the evil activities of lobbyists. Citizens readily accept these charges because they confirm their preconceptions. As Milbrath found in his study, "The public generally receives only negative information about lobbyists."

With this kind of public image, it's no wonder lobbyists call themselves by different titles. They are a "Washington Representative," or "Legislative Liaison" [illegible] (worst in light of current revelations) "Coordinator of Government Affairs."

Borrowing an analogy from former senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), however, "If it walks like a duck, sounds like a duck, and when I see it, it is always in the company of other ducks, I just naturally assume it is a duck."

For the same reason, some groups attempt to disassociate themselves from the negative image of lobbying by proclaiming that they are "public interest" lobbyists in contrast to "special interest" lobbyists. They refer to their own activities as educational and those of their opponents as lobbying. Sometimes a duck prefers to be seen as a peacock.

Lobbyists: Sources of Information

Whatever titles are used, the principal function of a lobbyist is education and his principal commodity is information.

In every session of Congress, more than 20,000 pieces of legislation are introduced. The subjects of these bills cover every aspect of American society: energy, environment, health, welfare, job safety, economics and many other complex issues. No representative or senator can be an expert in all of these fields, yet expertise is required in making decisions on these issues.

This expertise is provided by the lobbyist.

On many occasions the lobbyist is the only individual to whom legislators can look for specialized information that they need. Without the information provided by the lobbyists, the legislative process would be severely hampered. The lobbyist is frequently an informal consultant to legislators and their staffs. This is not a self-serving statement. Without the information that the lobbyist possesses, the Congress would be much more dependent upon the executive branch, thus further eroding the balance of power between the two.

Lobbyist: Spokesman for Organized Interests

Members of Congress need to know the "cross-section" of views that exists in the areas they represent. In a complex society, everyone cannot come to a town meeting or to Washington to present his or her views. People need to organize. They need representation groups or special interests, which means they need a person to act for them when they cannot. Members of Congress thus "hear" from their constituents as their special or unique interests are represented by the business lobbyist, the labor lobbyist or the consumer lobbyist. Combined with the letters received from "the people back home," this helps the legislators to represent the people who elected them.

That is a service for which there is no substitute--the presentation of the people's views. The creative function this serves in alerting decision-makers to all possible alternatives outweighs all the frustrations involved in lobbying. This one function is also most clearly protected by the constitutional right to petition.

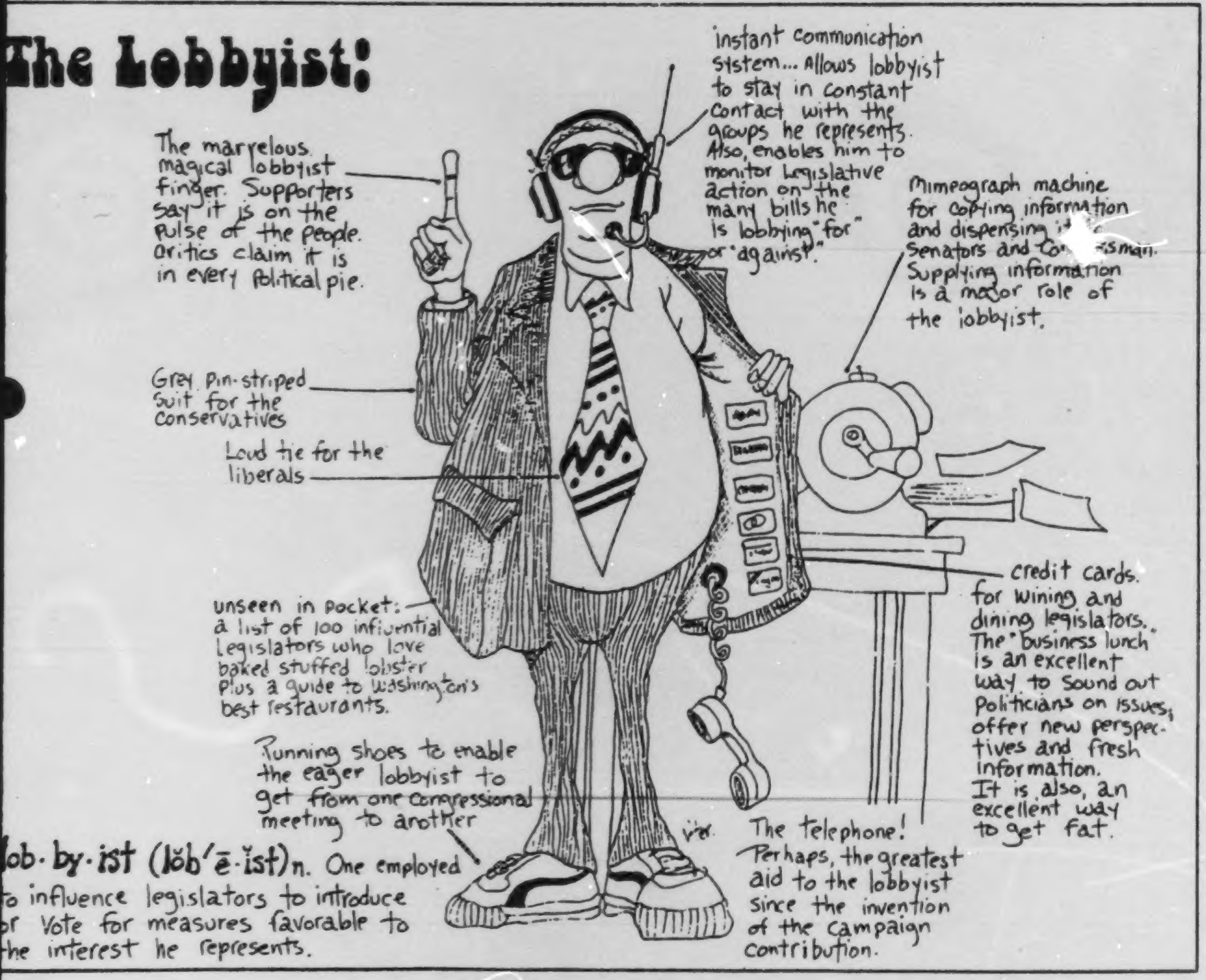
Officials might find other sources for additional services lobbyists provide, but they could never find a substitute for the essential representational function that spokesmen for organized interests provide.

Former congressman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) sums up this point rather well:

> "It is true that the pressures generated by a well-organized group can become irritating. But despite this I believe that too much lobbying is not as dangerous as too little. The congressman may know or suspect that there are serious opposing considerations (to legislation), but they are simply not presented. He is faced with a dilemma as to how far he should go to supply the omission."

In addition, the lobbyist has a responsibility to protect the legitimate interests of his employer and to keep the employer informed on specific and general trends which affect a particular business or a particular special interest.

To those not familiar with Washington, this may seem to be a rather insignificant assignment. It must be realized, however, that the lobbyist is usually working for someone who is located far away from Washington and who, in many instances, lacks a political orientation. The employer who is made knowledgeable of the present political situation and of possible future governmental actions is a much more capable individual than the one who operates in a political vacuum.


The Lobbyist!
The marvelous magical lobbyist finger. Supporters say it is on the pulse of the people. Critics claim it is in every political pie.
instant communication system... Allows lobbyist to stay in constant contact with the groups he represents. Also, enables him to monitor Legislative action on the many bills he is lobbying "for" or "against".
Mimeograph machine for copying information and dispensing it [illegible] Senators and Co[illegible]sman. Supplying information is a major role of the lobbyist.
Grey pin-striped suit for the conservatives
Loud tie for the liberals
credit cards for wining and dining legislators. The "business lunch" is an excellent way to sound out politicians on issues, offer new perspectives and fresh information. It is also, an excellent way to get fat.
unseen in pocket: a list of 100 influential Legislators who love baked stuffed lobster Plus a guide to Washington's best restaurants.
Running shoes to enable the eager lobbyist to get from one congressional meeting to another
The telephone! Perhaps, the greatest aid to the lobbyist since the invention of the campaign contribution.
lob·by·ist (lŏb'ē-ĭst) n. One employed
o influence legislators to introduce
r vote for measures favorable to
he interest he represents.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Indispensable Parts of Our Political System

The fundamental questions remain: What contributions do lobbyists make to the political system as a whole? Do these contributions tend to make the political system more or less workable?

Many congressional officials claim they could function quite adequately without lobbyists. They are, however, quite indispensable. If information from lobbying and lobby groups was, for some reason, unavailable to government officials, those officials would be largely dependent on their own staff for all information and all ideas. More important, cutting off lobbying communications would eliminate a most valuable source of creativity. There is no assurance that government institutions can turn up all possible alternative solutions to policy problems. As a matter of fact there is a great deal of evidence that points to the opposite.

A decision-maker who has his mind made up may well have to have new points of view forcefully presented to him before he can perceive and accept them. The clash of viewpoints between contesting groups is not only informative, it is also creative. The best way to teach the realities of life, according to John Stuart Mill, is by hearing the opposition. Let the position be challenged, and let the challenge fail. This method was considered by Mill to be so important that he recommended inventing a challenging position if a real one was not forthcoming. Formerly unperceived alternatives may arise from the challenge to previously accepted possibilities.

Through lobbyists and lobby groups, officials know what the effects of a given policy will be and how citizens will react to that policy. The lobbyist defines opinions regarding government issues in real and specific terms to a degree that cannot be achieved through political parties, the mass media, opinion polls and staff assistants.

There is good reason to conclude then that the "political system" without lobbyists would not produce wiser or more intelligent decisions. Instead, the assumption could be made that if we had no lobbyists, they would probably have to be invented to improve the functioning of our political system.

KNOW THE LOBBYISTS

In 1980, about 4,800 organizations and individuals registered as lobbyists in Washington, D.C. Some are concerned with only one issue, others with a variety of issues. There are always many groups lobbying on any given issue, some in favor and some against. To help you become more familiar with lobbying and lobbyists, Perspectives presents a list of 18 organizations and descriptions of their membership. Next, nine major issues of domestic and foreign policy are listed. Match each issue with the two organizations likely to be concerned, and decide whether each would favor or oppose the issue.

Here are some suggestions to complete this exercise. First, consider that all lobbyists represent the interests of their membership. Second, read your local newspaper and the national newsmagazines. Third, use reference books on lobbying organizations in your library. For example, the information on memberships was drawn from The Washington Information Directory 1977-78 (Congressional Quarterly, Inc., Washington, D.C.). Fourth, you can write to the House or Senate committees that deal with that particular policy area.

---

a. AFL-CIO: largest labor union in the nation.
b. American Israel Public Affairs Committee: individuals and organizations supportive of Israel.
c. American Medical Association: physicians and other health staff.
d. American Petroleum Institute: producers, refiners, marketers and transporters of oil.
e. Atomic Industrial Forum: industrial firms, utilities, labor unions and other organizations interested in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
f. Chamber of Commerce of the United States: businesses, trade associations and local chambers of commerce.
g. Committee for National Health Insurance: individual citizens, labor unions and other groups.
h. Consumer Federation of America: national, regional, state and local consumer groups.
i. National Wildlife Federation: citizens' group concerned with safeguarding the environment.
j. Committee on the Present Danger: group concerned with threat of Soviet expansionism.
k. National Association of Arab-Americans: Americans of Arab descent.

l. National Council to Control Handguns: citizens' group.
m. Americans for SALT: support for new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty.
n. National Organization for Women: Women and men interested in civil rights for women.
o. National Rifle Association: hunters, gunsmiths, collectors and others interested in firearms.
p. National Right-to-Life Committee: employees and employers supporting voluntary unionism.
r. Public Interest Research Group: citizens' group led by Ralph Nader, interested in nuclear energy.

THE NINE ISSUES ARE:

Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	
				1. Gun Control
				2. National Health Insurance
				3. Government Regulation of Consumer Products
				4. Nuclear Energy
				5. Abortion
				6. Labor Law Reform
				7. Offshore Oil Exploration
				8. Nuclear Arms Limitation
				9. Arms Sales to Egypt and Saudi Arabia

SOME LOBBYISTS AND THEIR ISSUES

The role of lobbyists in our democracy is to influence legislation to benefit a special interest, which may or may not be good for the country as a whole. Many people have argued that lobbyists have too much influence, sometimes gained by contributing large amounts of money to congressional campaigns. William Lambdin's book the Doublespeak Dictionary defines lobbyists as "the stockbrokers of government, who buy and sell freedom."

But although some lobbyists may have abused their position, distinguished scholars of government have defended their role in government. The late Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas wrote that alone, the average American can say little to government. "The Bill of Rights--with the judicial gloss it has acquired--plainly is not adequate to protect the individual against the growing bureaucracy," he wrote. "He faces a formidable opponent in government, even when he is endowed with funds and with courage. The individual is almost certain to be plowed under unless he has a well-organized, active political group to speak for him."

Below are essays from representatives of five lobbying and advocacy organizations describing their organizations, their issues and the way in which they try to influence federal policy.

The National Rifle Association

John D. Aquilino, Jr., Director of Public Education

Concern over crime has resulted in numerous proposed solutions. One approach common during the past few decades has been a call for legislation regarding the private ownership of firearms. Since 1968 federal statutes have prohibited firearms use, purchase or possession by criminals, drug abusers and mental defectives. Because criminals are forbidden to own firearms, those advocating "gun control" turn their attention toward the honest firearms owner. As might be imagined, those who own firearms for legitimate purposes resent the implication that they should be punished for the actions of the criminal minority.

In 1975 the National Rifle Association of America responded to the assault on honest firearms owners by creating its Institute for Legislative Action, its lobbying arm.

Since its inception the NRA Institute has virtually created the concept of "grassroots lobbying." The NRA Institute employs the traditional lobbying techniques of analyzing proposed legislation, presenting the NRA's position to legislators and their staffs and urging support for this position in congressional voting before committees or on the floor of the House or Senate. In addition, the NRA membership and concerned firearms owners, hunters and those who simply wish to preserve their choice of whether or not to own a firearm play a key role in "grassroots lobbying." This constituency writes letters and places telephone calls to legislative offices to ensure that their elected officials know of their concern. And, most importantly, on election day they vote.

The strength of the NRA's lobby effort rests in the support of the American people. A powerful sponsor of the rights of the honest citizen, the NRA Institute believes the infringement of one constitutionally guaranteed right erodes all the basic rights upon which the nation was founded. The Institute believes those who commit crimes should be punished for their acts, and that the principles of education, safety and marksmanship excellence taught by the NRA since 1871 are of benefit to the community and the nation.

Congress Watch

Nancy Drabble, Director

Congress Watch is a legislative advocacy arm of Public Citizen, the consumer organization founded by Ralph Nader in 1971. Congress Watch represents Public Citizen's Health Research Group, Critical Mass Energy Project, Tax Reform Research Group and Litigation Group before the U.S. Congress.

Congress Watch is concerned with a wide variety of issues that do not fit into one tight ideological mold. In general, current legislative involvement addresses the issues for which Ralph Nader and Congress Watch have gained recognition in the past. For example, Congress Watch supports deregulatory efforts where free enterprise is successful--as is the case in the trucking industry--and strongly advocates effective governmental regulation where markets fail--as is the case in environmental, health and safety matters. Congress Watch opposes corporate welfare programs--including business subsidies and tax loopholes--that drain money from deserving social programs. Finally, Congress Watch supports all efforts to make the democratic process work, including citizen access to, and participation in, public and corporate decision-making.

The purpose of lobbying is to persuade members of Congress to support the position the organization advocates. Congress Watch lobbyists distinguish themselves from business lobbyists through the methods they employ on the Hill. Rather than try to win the respect of representatives and senators with expense accounts, business lunches and campaign contributions, Congress Watch lobbyists use a combination of reliable information and support from local constituents to establish their credibility. Information dissemination on a national level in concert with citizen activism on a local level has enabled Congress Watch to become a uniquely influential organization.

American Israel Public Affairs Committee

Thomas Dine, Executive Director

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is the only American Jewish organization registered to lobby Congress on legislation affecting Israel. Headquartered in Washington, AIPAC is the nation-wide American organization that has worked to strengthen U.S.-Israeli relations for more than 25 years. AIPAC has spearheaded efforts to defeat the sale of sophisticated American weaponry to hostile Arab regimes, and has helped to protect and defend foreign aid requests to Israel of more than $2.2 billion annually.

On a daily basis, AIPAC lobbyists meet with representatives, senators and their staffs to provide useful material, monitor all relevant legislation and anticipate legislative issues affecting Israel. In this way AIPAC lobbyists serve an invaluable function in the American political process. They are a vital informational and creative resource for members of Congress, helping them to deal with the multitude of issues that confront them every day.

In addition, AIPAC is active on university campuses, educating and involving pro-Israel students in the American political process and sensitizing America's future policymakers to Israel's strengths and needs.

Once a year all 34,000 members of AIPAC, including students, are invited to Washington to meet with their U.S. representatives and to formally approve AIPAC's policy statement, which serves as the organization's guide throughout the year.

The National Taxpayers Union

Len Rippa, Director of Congressional Affairs

The National Taxpayers Union was founded in 1969 by a handful of concerned taxpayers. Since that time NTU has helped to organize the most extensive, broadbased grassroots network of taxpayers in the country. NTU is a nonpartisan, nonprofit public interest organization representing almost a half million members. It provides an opportunity for taxpayers to participate in the political process. Concerned American taxpayers acting through NTU work to achieve an honest accounting of government financing through a reduction of government waste, spending, bureaucracy and regulation; lower taxes for everyone; and a constitutional amendment that would outlaw inflationary deficit spending and reduce the tax burden.

To achieve these goals NTU publishes an informative and educational monthly newsletter that keeps its members and others informed about what's happening in Washington. NTU has an extensive grassroots network of more than 10,000 key contacts in all 50 states. Personal visits to members of Congress and their staffs complement this educational effort.

Practically every conceivable interest group--every business, every trade association and every government agency--has lobbyists who work hard seeking higher taxes and greater spending to fund programs that benefit their particular interest. The National Taxpayers Union works just as hard to provide a balanced account of wasteful and unnecessary spending. The National Taxpayers Union's lobbyists represent the public's interest without regard to politics or geographic considerations, as opposed to special interest lobbyists, who represent businesses or organizations seeking to enhance their own well-being through favorable legislation.

The Wilderness Society

Rebecca K. Leet, Director of Education

The Wilderness Society is a 65,000-member conservation organization founded in 1935 to ensure the preservation of wilderness and the proper management of all federally-owned lands. It is the only national conservation organization whose sole focus is the protection of all federal lands--national forest, national parks, wildlife refuges, wilderness areas and the lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management.

Although the Wilderness Society is a non-profit organization and not a lobby in the traditional sense, it is active in the arenas where public debate shapes federal policy. Primarily the Wilderness Society seeks to educate and influence decision-makers in a variety of ways. Sometimes it lobbies directly on specific legislation, talking with members of Congress or their staffs to persuade them to support a particular bill. The Society also seeks to educate the public about important public land issues by maintaining close contact with the news media. The Society recognizes that reporters and editorial writers who are well-educated about important issues are very likely to turn around and inform their readers about these same issues.

In addition, the Society's staff discusses proper regulation and management of public lands with key government officials; sponsors workshops to teach citizens how to become involved in the policymaking process; analyzes and comments on new preservation and management proposals; testifies at congressional hearings in support of or in opposition to public land measures; and establishes cooperative programs with other conservation organizations. Occasionally the Society's staff has conducted original research. When the administration wanted to search for oil and gas deposits in wilderness areas, the Society, using federal data, found that despite claims by the administration, only a negligible amount of oil and gas exists in wilderness areas.

The fairest public policy is developed when a variety of viewpoints are considered. The Wilderness Society considers that its role is to bring to the process of public policy formation a well researched and clearly articulated point of view that reflects the interests of the public--those concerned and those unaware--who depend on the federally-owned lands to provide recreation, to protect the air and water supplies, to protect wildlife and fragile ecological areas and to ensure a sustained yield of renewable resources like trees and grasslands.

WHAT MAKES EFFECTIVE LOBBYING?

An Interview with Representative Claudine Schneider

Lobbyists spend hours on the phone and walking the halls of congressional office buildings to convert members of Congress to their side on particular issues and to thank those members who have been supportive, often with generous campaign contributions. Below U.S. Representative Claudine Schneider (R-R.I.) talks to CLOSE UP about the role of lobbyists in the congressional decision-making process.

CLOSE UP: What role do you feel lobbying plays in the congressional process?

Representative Schneider: It provides the elected official with information. More often than not, you're lobbied from both sides; it's like observing a point-counterpoint discussion in a debate. What I do is to take each point that the lobbyist makes and have my staff verify how accurate that information is. Then I make my decision.

CLOSE UP: Interest groups generally reflect a bias in support of certain groups in society. How important is it for you to know what a group's bias is when evaluating the information they provide? Representative Schneider: The way I like to go about doing business is to not make decisions through association but rather on the facts. When I look at the facts on a variety of different issues, I try to use what I consider to be my best judgment. Only secondarily I may look at the groups that support one side or another. For example, if there is an environmental bill, before I even know who is coming down on what side of an issue, I like to study the bill or the proposal first and then make a decision. Some members of Congress will read the lineup and say, "Oh boy, I want to be associated with the elderly organizations or with the unions or with the doctors" or whatever it might be. I use that method of association much less frequently, and I think that's reflected in my voting record. I don't have a 100 percent voting record with anybody except maybe the Consumer Federation of America, and that's not quite 100 but its the highest voting rating that I have anywhere, I believe. The reason for that is that I don't think business is always right, and I don't think labor is always right. I like to have a high rating with consumers because consumers are also businessmen and labor and elderly and young and members of all groups in society. That's essentially how I make my decisions.

CLOSE UP: What are the different approaches to lobbying that various groups take with you, and which ones seem to be the most effective?

Representative Schneider: I think that everyone who makes a contribution to my campaign knows that that contribution will not buy my vote on their proposals. Sometimes lobbying is done by inviting members to a special event, such as a ball game or a tennis match. If and when I accept, I accept because I enjoy those people, and I would like to spend an evening with them and because I'm interested in the entertainment that they are providing. But I think that without question, any lobbyist that may have invited me out knows that he won't have me in the palm of his hand. The other form of lobbying, which is much more straightforward, is when a professional lobbyist comes into your office and says, "These are our concerns: one, two, three, four, and this is what the impact of it will be, boom, boom, boom, boom." Often, national associations will send in their Rhode Island or local representatives, which I think is most effective because I am more inclined to receive a Rhode Islander than I am someone else. If I have a particularly busy schedule, I will make time for a Rhode Islander, but if it's some national lobbyist I'll just postpone the appointment and say "maybe next week." Another form of lobbying is when organizations mobilize their grassroots or their membership, so you're inundated with postcards saying, "Vote this way, we'll be watching your record," or something like that. To me, postcards indicate a message, but I do not put a lot of weight in those because I recognize that constituents who are sending me postcards only have one side of the information and I figure, well, if they had both sides of the information perhaps they wouldn't be of that position. The best example of that was the tax bill that we just recently passed--there were some orchestrated letters for it--and in that particular bill there were some good things and some bad things. The people who supported it only knew of the good things. Fortunately there were more good aspects to it than bad and so I voted for it, but it was not solely because of the postcards that I got.

CLOSE UP: You mentioned the information provided by lobbyists. Do you think that you could do just as good a job without the lobbyists? If interest groups disappeared, would the work of Congress go on in the same fashion?

Representative Schneider: I think that lobbyists do serve a purpose in providing information. In order to get the information we need, we often have to call the associations, but I think we could eliminate the lobbyists who make the rounds on the Hill. If we eliminated the whole lobbying process, however, the interest group associations and organizations might not compile their information in an easily readable or understandable fashion. Now we can call the Home Builders Association, for example, and say, "Could you give us your latest statistics on one, two, three and four and what impact would there be on the housing industry if we injected a billion dollars in it today?" I think that's a real contribution and I wouldn't want to lose it.

CLOSE UP: Do you ever see yourself as a lobbyist in terms of lobbying your colleagues?

Representative Schneider: Constantly. Constantly.

CLOSE UP: What techniques do you use to lobby?

Representative Schneider: I use a very specific approach that is non-emotional. I think for a woman that is particularly important. I try to narrow my argument to three or four points. Whenever there are economic arguments, I try to emphasize those first, because more people in Congress are interested in economics than in the impact on water systems or the impact on the steel industry or something like that. If you're talking to someone from Maine that doesn't have a steel industry, they could care less. But if you talk about the overall impact on taxpayers, they're more interested. So, first of all I organize my points and my facts; then I say "Hey Jack, I'd really like you to cosponsor this bill with me. It would do one, two, three..." Keep it simple. Then I often tell them the arguments on the other side so that they know what they might hear, then I offer the rebuttal. I also look people straight in the eye, and I very closely monitor their reaction to what I'm saying to see if they appear receptive or if I need to send them more background information. Often I provide them something to carry with them. Sometimes you get the feeling that this person could be won over with a little bit more information or more work. Then there are folks who don't rely on the information. You have to know who your individual is. Sometimes you have to say, "Look, labor is 100 percent behind it." Then you know you've got their signature. Lobbying really takes a personal effort to know what the individual might be looking for.

CLOSE UP: Perhaps you could give an example of that. Last year, for instance, you were involved in putting together a coalition on education.

Representative Schneider: That's correct. In lobbying for education, the arguments that we put together were primarily arguments about equity. We pointed out that if there were a 25 percent cut in the overall education budget, the things that would be most severely affected would be aid to the handicapped, student loans and other items primarily hitting middle income people. Then, we would not so much say that certain organizations support us, but rather that Paul Simon, the chairman of education, is 100 percent behind this bipartisan alternative budget. If we mentioned a member of the leadership that was well respected, or even someone who was not part of the leadership that was well respected, people would be more inclined to support the bill. The best example of that is my work on Title IX, which is equal access to education for women. We have 145 cosponsors now. I was on the floor last night lobbying for this and I got nine people at the last minute. They said, "All right, Claudine, if you're recommending it, sign me up!" Some people know the kinds of things I support and so they'll cosponsor my bill. Others said, "I'll take this home and read up on it." With still others, I said, "You know Paul Simon just signed up, so he thinks it's OK." Then they'll usually say, "Oh well, all right, if you and Paul Simon..." So that's how it usually works.

CASE STUDY: Interest Groups

RESTRICTIONS ON JAPANESE AUTO IMPORTS

LOBBYING IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Crisis in the American Automobile Industry

From the time Henry Ford rolled his first Model T off the assembly line and throughout most of the twentieth century, Fords, Chevrolets, Chryslers and other American automobiles were the favorites of drivers in the United States, Europe, Latin America and even Japan. In fact, as late as 1968 only 2 percent of the cars sold in the United States were made in Japan. The "Big Three" corporations of General Motors, Ford and Chrysler made huge profits, directly employed more than 750,000 workers and created even more jobs in related industries that supplied automobile parts and materials. (e.g., iron and steel, synthetic rubber and glass)

By 1980, however, the once powerful auto industry was showing signs of running out of gas. In 1980 Americans bought 35 percent fewer American-made cars and 36 percent more Japanese-made cars than they had purchased in 1978. Instead of making huge profits, the Big Three corporations suffered staggering losses totaling $4 billion in 1980. Chrysler averted bankruptcy only because the federal government bailed it out with almost $2 billion in loan guarantees. Some 300,000 auto workers and 650,000 workers in supplier industries were less fortunate. They lost their jobs. Amidst all the other problems of 1980--Americans held hostage in Iran, double digit inflation, the nuclear arms race--the industry that once had symbolized America's status as an industrial giant was in deep trouble.

Although there were many causes of the crisis, public attention focused on the rapid increase of auto imports from Japan. As Congressman Bob Traxler (D-Mich.) warned his colleagues in the House of Representatives:

> I feel that I am present this morning as sort of a Paul Revere. I want to tell you the Japanese are coming. They are already here and they are coming in massive numbers.

In 1980 and 1981 Congress considered more than 20 bills intended to restrict Japanese auto imports. The International Trade Commission (ITC), an important regulatory commission in the executive branch, also was petitioned for action. In addition, both the Carter and Reagan Administrations were lobbied heavily to negotiate a trade agreement with Japan.

Many different interest groups became involved in the following case, which provides a vivid illustration of how the lobbying process works.

The "Import Restriction" and "Free Trade" Lobbying Coalitions

The first step in any lobbying effort is to organize all major groups with a shared interest into a lobbying coalition. These groups may disagree on other issues, but on the issue in question their common interest prompts them to act together. For example, although American workers and management blamed each other for the problems of the auto industry, they worked together against the Japanese.

In most cases there are three types of members in a lobbying coalition:

Primary Groups - These are groups deeply affected by the issue. For them the lobbying effort is a very high priority, the outcome of which will significantly affect their interests. Therefore, primary groups usually are the key organizers of the lobbying coalition.

Government Officials - When the issue in question affects their political supporters or constituents, the president, other executive branch officials, senators and representatives may become important members of a lobbying coalition.

Secondary Groups - These are groups that are also affected by the issue but not as deeply as primary groups. They are important to a lobbying coalition because they broaden the base of support and may contribute to the strength of the lobbying effort.

The issue of Japanese auto imports gave rise to two lobbying coalitions:

The import restrictions coalition, which lobbied in favor of limiting the sale of Japanese cars in the United States, vs.

The free trade coalition, which opposed all such restrictions on trade.

The Free Trade Lobbying Coalition

A basic law of American politics is that where there are supporters, there will also be opponents. Their statements of position show that the interests of this "free trade" lobbying coalition conflicted with the interests of the "import restrictions" lobbying coalition.

Strategies for Lobbying: Pass a Bill Through Congress

The import restrictions lobbying coalition had one central objective: to get the federal government to take action to restrict imports of Japanese automobiles into the United States. The free trade lobbying coalition also had one central objective: to block any such action.

The first confrontation of the two lobbying coalitions took place in the halls of the United States Congress. Passing a bill through Congress is a most common lobbying strategy. The full process of congressional action has been discussed in Chapter 2. For lobbyists there are three key stages of the congressional process:

1. Introduce a Bill

At least one representative and one senator must introduce the bill in the House of Representatives and the Senate. This person is known as the sponsor of the bill. He or she becomes a member of the lobbying coalition.

2. Committee Hearings

Both the House and the Senate are divided into committees. Each committee is responsible for a particular area of policy: (e.g., agriculture, taxes, energy, defense, trade). Members of the lobbying coalitions testify at the committee hearings. In their testimony they try to convince the committee members to vote in their favor.

3. Floor Debate and Vote

If the committee passes the bill, it is sent to the full House or Senate (known as going to the floor). Since all the representatives and senators vote when the bill reaches the floor, lobbyists must try to influence each individual member.

The import restrictions coalition found its sponsor in Congressman Bob Traxler, (D-Mich.) and the representative of many unemployed auto workers. On March 5, 1980, Congressman Traxler introduced H.R. 6718. He made a speech explaining to his fellow members of the House of Representatives why they should vote for H.R. 6718:

> Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced tough legislation designed to repel the calculated Japanese invasion of our economy during a time of vulnerability and transition. The Japanese have been exporting more than cars to the United States: They have been exporting unemployment. More than 200,000 American auto workers have been indefinitely laid off in the past several months. One-third of that unemployment is directly attributable to the rise in imports.
>
> The time has come to force a commitment from them, and I believe the only route is for this Congress to give serious consideration to tough legislation. The Japanese must know that we mean business, and that we are not

> going to sit idly by and watch them put more Americans out of jobs.

Congressman Traxler's main objective in this speech was to convince his colleagues of the need for legislation to restrict Japanese imports. His lobbying tactic was to pose the problem not just as Michigan's problem but as one of national concern:

> This unprecedented flood of Japanese-imported cars is not a regional problem--it has a major impact upon every congressional district in this country. The downturn in our domestic automobile industry, and the ripple effects it spreads throughout the economy, impact upon every state in the Union. This is a critical national problem.

The next step in the lobbying effort was to hold hearings on the bill. These hearings were held on March 7th and 18th by the House Ways and Means Committee and its Subcommittee on Trade. The chairman of this subcommittee was Congressman Charles A. Vanik, (D-Ohio). In his opening statement, Chairman Vanik criticized the positions of both lobbying coalitions:

> Let me say several things. First, I am angry and disappointed and embarrassed that our automobile industry, the Detroit industry and some part of it in my own community of Cleveland, have failed America by failing to make the kind of automobile we need in a world of rising petroleum prices and shrinking supplies... I think the reason that we have stayed with big automobiles is because there are big profits in them, rather than the smaller ones in which the profit motive might have been somewhat lessened... Having said this, I would like to say some things to the Japanese representatives in the audience...
>
> I am appalled by the wave of Japanese automobiles sales in this country in recent months. In February of 1979, for example, Toyota sold about 30,000 automobiles in the United States. This February the sales rose to 60,000. No nation allows vital industries to be destroyed by temporary surges of imports. It is accepted legal international trade practice to provide temporary import relief for an industry that is retooling or converting. This may be the situation we are facing in the auto sector... What are the options

> before us? I hope that the witnesses today will be able to give us their reactions to my comments. And we would like to have the ideas that the witnesses can offer for a healthy American automobile industry in the decades to come.

More than 30 witnesses testified during the two days of hearings. Both the import restriction and the free trade coalitions were well represented. Senator Donald W. Riegle, Jr., (D-Mich.), tried to convince the 21 members of the subcommittee (14 Democrats, 7 Republicans) that "Japanese imports are at the heart of the problem:"

> By sharply restricting the sale of U.S. cars in Japan and saturating the U.S. market with Japanese-built cars sold well below the retail price charged in Japan, the Japanese automakers will take some $10 billion from the United States this year as reflected in our balance of payments.
>
> In draining away $10 billion in scarce U.S. capital, Japan has also taken away the jobs of some 650,000 American workers and is now adding billions to the U.S. federal deficit in the form of lost tax revenues, unemployment compensation payments and trade adjustment assistance.
>
> This massive trade deficit of motor vehicles is hurting the value of the dollar abroad, costing record high interest payments here at home and adding to the soaring inflation.
>
> Further, the hemorrhage of this $10 billion capital to Japan represents money desperately needed here in the United States to finance the conversion of U.S. auto plants and enable the reindustrialization of America's automobile industry...
>
> In autos, Japan is not engaging in fair trade, has not for years, and shows every sign of squeezing every possible advantage from the inequities in the current trading relationship without regard to the strategic economic damage being done to America. This cannot be allowed to continue.

Although they agreed that a serious problem existed, the members of the free trade coalition disagreed with Senator Riegle's argument that Japanese autos were the cause. Robert M. McElwaine, president of the American Imported

Automobile Dealers Association (AIADA), told the subcommittee that import restrictions "would be essentially counterproductive."

> If I could digest that entire 37-page testimony into a single sentence, Mr. Chairman, it would be that if the proposed restraints, either voluntary or legislative, on imported vehicles are designed to put back to work the 176,000 members of the United Auto Workers who are currently on indefinite layoff, it simply will not work.
>
> The reason these restraints will not help put these unemployed men back to work is simply because they are not out of work, as has been said before this committee earlier this morning, because of Japanese imports or any other kind of imports. They are out of work because of the failure of the domestic industry to anticipate the market, a reluctance to make the necessary capital investments in new products and more modern plants, and a general reluctance to give up what was a very profitable type of motor vehicle long after its popularity with the American buying public had ceased to exist.
>
> Moreover, such type of restrictions as have been proposed would be essentially counterproductive. To understand our position on this, I think it is necessary to look at the automotive market as it actually exists today. It has been portrayed as a market divided between imported automobiles and domestic automobiles. In truth, there is no such division.
>
> The market presently is divided between large cars and small cars, and small cars are runaway best sellers in this field. It is literally no contest whatsoever.
>
> Your out of work UAW members will be back on the job as soon as Detroit has converted all its products to modern fuel-efficient cars and not before. Restricting imports will depress the entire industry further than it is today.

Contrary to the goals of the import restriction coalition, H.R. 6718 was not approved by the committee. At least for the moment, the strategy of passing a bill through Congress was blocked. Over the next few months a second strategy--one of lobbying a regulatory commission--was developed.

Strategies for Lobbying: Appeal to a Regulatory Commission

Regulatory commissions are agencies of the executive branch that function partly like the Congress and partly like the courts. They resemble Congress in that their decisions, or regulations, have the force of law. For example, if a regulatory commission decides that a particular toy is unsafe, then the manufacturer may be forced to take it off the market. Regulatory commissions resemble courts in that their members can conduct hearings and issue orders. The president has the power to appoint commissioners subject to confirmation (approval) by the Senate.

Lobbying coalitions may also try to influence regulatory commissions to act in their interest. This is done by filing a petition that states the desired action and explains why the action should be taken. The regulatory commission then holds its own hearings, at which a lobbying coalition can again present evidence and opinions. A decision is then made by a majority vote of the commissioners.

The International Trade Commission (ITC) is the regulatory commission for international trade policy. One of its powers is to issue regulations restricting imports. However, according to a law passed by Congress in 1974 (called the Trade Act of 1974), it can only restrict imports if:

- an American industry has suffered "serious injury," and
- imports are proven to be "a substantial cause" of this injury.

By June of 1980, when it became evident that Congress was not going to pass a bill, the coalition favoring import restrictions brought its case to the ITC.

One newspaper report described the approach to the ITC:

> The United Automobile Workers Union petitioned the government today to raise tariffs and impose quotas on automobile imports, seeking at least a 20 percent reduction in foreign sales to give the domestic industry a chance to revamp to meet new market demands.

> The union began a process that will take up to eight months before final determination, by asking the International Trade Commission to recommend import restrictions on foreign cars and trucks, contending they are causing "serious injury" to American manufacturers.
>
> "With more than 300,000 UAW members in the auto industry laid off, there is a pressing need to restrain the flood of imports, particularly from Japan," Douglas A. Fraser, UAW president, said in a statement issued with today's petition.
>
> The UAW petition argued that imports were mainly responsible for a 12 percent drop in production of domestic passenger cars since 1973.

The ITC held three days of hearings, October 8 through October 10, 1980. Both lobbying coalitions had opportunities to testify. The list of witnesses was even more extensive than it was for the congressional hearings:

Witnesses from the Import Restrictions Coalition

- United Auto Workers
- Ford Motor Company
- General Motors
- Volkswagen of America, Inc.
- Automobile Dealer's Panel
- Coalition of Automotive Component and Supply Workers
- Automotive Materials Industry Council of the United States
- Senator Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (D-Michigan)
- Senator Carl Levin (D-Michigan)
- William Faust, Majority Leader of the Michigan State Senate

Witnesses from the Free Tariff Coalition

- Automobile Importers of America
- American International Automobile Dealers Association (AIADA)
- Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc.
- Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A.
- Nissan Motor Corporation in U.S.A.
- Honda Motor Company
- Subaru of America, Inc.
- Alfa Romeo, Inc.
- BMW of North America, Inc.
- Fiat Motors of North America, Inc.
- Mercedes-Benz of North America, Inc.
- Peugeot Motors of America
- Saab-Scandia of America, Inc.
- Volvo of America
- Renault U.S.A., Inc.
- Council for a Competition Economy

The ITC was being lobbied not only by American workers and companies on both sides of the issue, but also by foreign companies whose interests also would be affected by the ITC's decision.

On November 10, 1980, the ITC announced its decision. By a bare 3 to 2 majority it rejected the petition for import restrictions. It did not doubt that a problem existed, but it did doubt that Japanese imports were the cause. In their report to President Jimmy Carter, the commissioners said:

> On the basis of the information developed in the course of the investigation, the Commission has determined that automobiles...are not being imported into the United States in such increased quantities as to be a substantial cause of serious injury, or the threat thereof, to the domestic industry producing articles like or directly competitive with the imported articles.

Translated from the legal language, the simple message was another setback for the import restrictions.

Another battle had been lost, but the political war continued. More workers lost their jobs, and even General Motors--long considered the model corporation--was losing money. Yet Japanese imports grew. An article in the Wall Street Journal summarized the situation:

> Pressures continue to mount in Congress for restriction on Japanese auto imports, but the Carter Administration indicated it will leave the controversy to President-elect Ronald Reagan to resolve.
>
> The trade subcommittee chairman, Charles Vanik (D-Ohio), predicted such pressure will become "irresistible" in the next Congress if there isn't some slowing of Japanese imports... And Robert Hormats, deputy trade representative, confirmed that he told Japanese officials at a recent economic meeting that the ITC decision "wasn't grounds for complacency" because there will continue to be "very substantial pressures on the United States for limitations."
>
> Some lawmakers warned that if a negotiated settlement isn't reached with the Japanese, they will push for mandatory limits on imports.

Strategies for Lobbying: Presidential Action

Given that auto workers traditionally had voted for Democrats, the Carter Administration had been unusually unresponsive to the lobbying of the import restriction coalition.

Ronald Reagan and the Republican party courted the votes of the auto workers in 1980. It was not coincidental that the Republican National Party Convention was held in Detroit, the capital of the American auto industry. In one of his campaign speeches, candidate Reagan had promised that, if elected, he would help the auto industry and auto workers:

> Last week, I offered a proposal to increase the opportunity for sales of U.S. cars overseas, while at the same time proposing a temporary shot-in-the-arm for the auto industry. This plan consisted of two parts:
>
> - acceleration of order for automobiles by the U.S. General Services Administration.
>
> - modification of Export-Import Bank financing to encourage sales of U.S. cars in foreign countries.
>
> This is the kind of common sense, workable program the auto industry needs. We need to take steps now, which (the Carter) Administration has failed to do, to alleviate the all-too-high unemployment in the auto industry.

However, there was at least one problem. Although Ronald Reagan had made vague campaign promises, he also was a believer in free trade and in reducing the federal government's intervention in the economy. Import restrictions were a form of intervention. As White House Press Secretary James Brady stated on March 19, 1981:

> The question of how to proceed with regard to imports was left open for further discussion by the president... The president reemphasized that he remains committed to the principles of free trade and, in general, he believes the government should not become deeply entangled with the economic fortunes of any company or industry.

What the import restriction coalition wanted was for the Reagan Administration to negotiate an agreement with Japan called a voluntary export restraint (VER). Under a VER, the exporting country (Japan) agrees to limit its exports to the importing country (the United States). Although it is called "voluntary," it usually is the result of pressure brought by the importing country.

But President Reagan was reluctant to negotiate a VER because he still supported the ideas of the free trade coalition. The import restriction coalition tried again to pass a bill through Congress. This time the coalition began with the Senate. On February 5, 1981, S. 396 was introduced by Senator John C. Danforth, (R-Mo.), the new chairman of the Senate Finance Subcommittee on International Trade. His appeal to the Senate is transcribed in the Congressional Record S. 396:

> Mr. Danforth, Mr. President, I rise today to do something for which I have little enthusiasm, but something for which there is a compelling national need.
>
> Senator Bentsen and I are introducing legislation to impose a quota on the importation of automobiles from Japan. The quota would be set at a level of 1.6 million cars per year for the next three years.
>
> The proposed quota is intended to do two things: provide the U.S. industry with a small degree of breathing room while it retools; and guarantee to the Japanese significant ongoing access for the U.S. market, thus preserving a degree of choice for U.S. consumers.
>
> I am not so naive as to believe that there will be no negative side effects of this action. Any limit on consumer choice is bad; any limit on free trade is bad. The first breeds inflation, at least in the short run, and the latter invites further restriction.
>
> Unfortunately, the alternatives are even worse. The failure of a significant portion of the U.S. auto industry will also be inflationary, as

> government is forced to pay billions in unemployment compensation, welfare, trade adjustment assistance and aid to depressed areas. The possible social cost is difficult to comprehend, since one of six U.S. jobs is related to the auto industry. In the long run, I believe a quota, in concert with other initiatives, will be anti-inflationary, since it will assist our industry in becoming more productive and competitive.

Hearings were held by the committee. Many of the same witnesses who had testified in 1980 were heard from again. The committee voted in favor of S. 396, and in early April it went to the floor of the Senate. If passed there and then by the House, it would impose even more restrictions on auto imports than had been considered previously.

This time the strategy worked. Faced with the likelihood of congressional action, the Reagan Administration and the government of Japan stepped up negotiations.

On May 1, 1981, a VER was signed. It allowed for a higher number of Japanese auto imports than S. 396 would have allowed if it had passed. But after more than a year of defeats, it was a victory for the import restriction lobbying coalition.

The UAW called it a "modest but very positive step." Senator Lloyd Bentsen, (D-Tex.), who was a cosponsor of S. 396, stated that:

> This isn't all that we wanted, but it is significant. We will, however, be watching next year to make sure they are complying.

On the other hand the New York Times expressed some of the views of the free trade coalition in its editorial titled "Why Reward Failure in Detroit?"

> Giving the car makers the quota they want would be an open invitation for every ailing industry to turn first to Washington for aid or protection... Aid must act as a catalyst for productivity, not as a reward for failure.

Conclusions

In the end, those who fought for relief of a failing American industry got part of what they wanted, and those who opposed them did also. The lobbying process was long and complex, involving different strategies, different sides to every argument, and many different groups and people.

The story of the auto import restrictions illustrates a number of features of the process of lobbying:

- When a serious problem exists within the society, the affected groups will try to get the federal government to take some action.

- These groups may have differing interests on other issues. If their common interests on one issue are important enough to them, they will join together in a lobbying coalition.

- Whenever there is a lobbying coalition in favor of something, there is likely to be another coalition lobbying against it.

- Lobbying can be targeted at both the legislative and executive branches. Within the executive branch there are different strategies for lobbying for regulatory commission action and for presidential action.

- In most cases the outcome of lobbying is a compromise. One side usually "wins," but it does not usually get everything it wanted. In addition, in a society such as ours, no group wins all the time.

- Action by the federal government to address the interests of a lobbying coalition is usually the end of a chapter rather than the end of the book. For example, one year after the VER was negotiated, more than 200,000 auto workers were still unemployed, and two of the three major American auto companies were not making a profit. Japanese cars continued to be sold faster than American cars. The lobbying coalition was active again.

- Lobbying never ends. It is a permanent part of the American political system, and one that many people believe is necessary to help bring some order to the American political scene.

We are much indebted to the Close Up Foundation for granting permission to use this chapter. It is from Perspectives - 1984. See "Resources" for description of the Foundation.

Benj. Franklin
John Adams
Th: Jefferson

It is clear that there is serious disagreement about the role of political action committees (PAC's). After students read the following three articles, have them discuss the pros and cons of PAC's. Invite elected officials in to discuss with students their views of PAC's. Have students prepare questions and submit them to the speaker ahead of time. An informal question and answer period should follow the prepared remarks.

Have students discuss why lobbyists are sometimes called the "Third Party."

PAC'S: TOO MUCH SPECIAL INTEREST INFLUENCE

Dan Glickman

During the 1982 campaign season more than 3,100 political action committees (PAC's), representing a variety of interests from horse lovers to textile manufacturers, contributed over $80 million to House and Senate candidates. Another $160 million was spent by PAC's on local races independent political advertising and administrative activities. Below, Representative Dan Glickman (D-Kan.), argues that PAC's distort the democratic process by making candidates beholden to their narrow interests.

Almost everyone knows that PAC-MAN is an electronic video game that gobbles up quarters so little round creatures with enormous mouths can be maneuvered to gobble up little dots. It has become a national craze and a multimillion dollar business. There's another PAC game going on that also involves millions of dollars. Its sole objective is to gobble up congressional influence.

Political action committees, or PAC's, originated with the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act. That act was adopted with the laudable goal of cleaning up campaign practices wherein a well-heeled individual contributor could quite literally buy an ambassadorship or another high-ranking government position. The 1971 legislation put limits on individual contributions and gave birth to "multicandidate political committees"; hence, PAC's and a new campaign finance problem came into being.

It is naive to think that the PAC's of the AFL-CIO or the chamber of commerce, of Right to Life or the National Abortion Rights League--political action committees on the right and on the left--are spending incredible amounts of money out of simple altruism. These PAC's contribute to campaigns for one reason only, and that is to influence politicians to support their special interest goals. In and of themselves these PAC's are not objectionable, but their growing dominance over the American political system is crowding out other participants in the process and destroying the role individual Americans and political parties play in our democracy. Since these wealthy PAC's represent such specialized interests--from boilermakers to silver dealers and from Exxon executives to Burger King owners--too often their narrow interests take precedence over the public interest. The whole is supposed to be the sum of its parts. Unfortunately, in the world of politics and PAC's, this isn't the case. It is impossible to add up all the special interest parts and arrive at the common good. Instead what results is a splintering of consensus and politics with each having different goals.

It happens this way. The PAC's subtly "buy" access to the halls of Congress. Although they don't very often blatantly claim that their campaign contributions entitle them to the vote of a member of Congress, they do know and take advantage of the fact that access and big contributions can sway votes. More and more lobbyists are losing their shyness about tying the two together. It has become commonplace for discussions to include blatant reminders of PAC contributions. The average citizen has neither the time nor the financial resources to follow-up on his or her contributions as thoroughly or effectively as PAC's do. Therefore PAC contributions tied to special interest views obscure the views of hundreds of thousands of constituents without PAC support whom each member of Congress was elected to represent.

In the past eight years more and more PAC's have set out to buy access with large contributions. In 1974, the second congressional election year after the changes in the election laws, some 600 PAC's ranging from marine engineers to California doctors put $12.5 million into congressional campaigns. By the 1980 elections, nearly 3,000 PAC's had put $55 million into campaign chests. In the 1982 congressional elections PAC contributions amounted to over $80 million.

Not only do PAC's buy influence and access, but their growing dominance has further reduced the dwindling influence by the political parties. Parties have traditionally served to build a consensus to govern the country. One reason they are in trouble is that the vast influx of PAC money has eroded their role in campaign finance. In 1974, House candidates relied on their parties for 17 percent of their campaign dollars; by 1978 that dependence had dropped to 4.5 percent.

With the cost of campaigning for a House seat up 180 percent since 1974, and with fewer individual contributions and party dollars available, most candidates have felt that saying "no" to PAC contributions unilaterally was akin to political suicide. Although some have placed limitations on PAC contributions, ranging from accepting sums far below the $10,000 the law allows to limiting contributions from PAC's within their own states or districts, there is little hope that congressional candidates will universally resolve the undue influence of PAC's through self-imposed restrictions.

Something clearly must be done, however. Proposed campaign finance reform legislation aimed at curtailing PAC influence has more than 50 cosponsors from both parties in the House. The bill would put a ceiling on the total amount a congressional candidate could take from PAC's in general; it would encourage increased individual contributions by raising the $1,000 limit for each election to $2,500; and it would double the tax incentives for political contributions to candidates. by limiting the amount of aggregate PAC money a candidate can accept and by encouraging other sources of contributions, the bill should restore some balance to campaign finance and to the political process.

Many parents have become so concerned about the PAC-MAN fever that has hit their children that several jurisdictions have imposed restrictions on video arcades. The adult-version PAC fever, needs some restrictions as well. Two hundred years ago Alexander Hamilton said, "Here...the people govern." It would be a sad assessment if in the future it was observed that "Here special interests override the principle of representative government."

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PAC'S CONTRIBUTE TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Don V. Cogman

Not everyone thinks the PAC-men are evil. Supporters argue that PAC's are merely coalitions of people who share the same interests and pool their money rather than making smaller, more anonymous donations. Below, Don V. Cogman, past president of the National Association of Business Political Action Committees, explains why PAC's are an important new institution in American politics. Cogman is also vice president for government affairs for MAPCO, a Tulsa-based energy company.

What is the real issue in the growing debate on whether or not to limit political action committee contributions to federal candidates?

Is it the decline in political parties? Nonsense--The only reason for a decline in party giving is that Congress has put a limit on what they can contribute to federal candidates.

Is it the advantages it gives to incumbents? Certainly not--incumbents are not given an advantage by PAC giving; the trend is clearly to helping challengers and open-seat candidates.

Is it that corporate America is gaining an overwhelming influence in the Congress of the United States by contributing millions of dollars to federal candidates? Absolutely untrue--no corporate money whatsoever is given to federal candidates. Additionally, in a recent nationwide survey of over 250 corporate employee PAC's, representing over 100,000 individuals, of those PAC's surveyed, the average contribution to a House candidate was $471.00. The average contribution to a U.S. Senate candidate was $824.00.

The real issue is competition, and the fact that employees of business are developing a greater involvement in the political process. Where was this righteous indignation when organized labor was alone in influencing the Congress? The employees of business have just as much right to participate as others.

Prior to 1976, employees of business had very little opportunity to organize their participation in the political process. However, due to election law reforms in the early seventies, we now have the opportunity to freely and voluntarily participate in the political process--a participation opportunity that organized labor has enjoyed for decades.

The corporate employee PAC can be--indeed, already is--a tool to increase participation in our political system. Another portion of the recent national survey dealt with individual corporate employees, and their reaction to the PAC movement. Of those surveyed 36 percent indicated their participation in their company's PAC had increased their interest and involvement in the political process. Nearly 75 percent believe that corporations should provide employees with more political information and training, and an equal 75 percent believe business employees should be more involved than they are today in the political process.

In addition to these facts, I also think it is important to focus on the general subject of "special interests" and the role they play in a free society.

In his book A Nation of Associations, Alfred Balitzer has said, "The term 'special interest' has received less attention as to its definition and meaning, and is used more recklessly than almost any other term frequently heard in society today. In the print and broadcast media, in respectable journals, even in scholarly textbooks, special interests are spoken of as if they are the invisible hand of our political life and the principle source of political corruption."

Many of the adversaries of special interests manifest a "good guy--bad guy" mentality, a mentality that frequently tends to reflect hostility to the system of business enterprise. Their arguments silently pit the profit motive against the public interest, leaving the impression that those who associate with free enterprise and the private sector should not, as a result of their association, possess the same "right to influence" as others whose avowed dedication is to the public sector. This is a disservice to the truth, and significantly hinders an open and intelligent public discussion of a vital area of public policy and democratic principle."

The fact that business is becoming more involved in the political process is a critical component in maintaining parity in the political marketplace. The employees of business have just as much right to participate as others. We have an equal stake in who will run our country. Any legislation that further hinders that right to participate is counter-productive to what the democratic system of government is all about.

Alfred Balitzer also said, "The hostile attitude of some toward PAC's traces to their political dislike of competition. As vigorous participants in the political system, PAC's represent a competitive force, one to which policy makers must accommodate and with which they must reckon. Indeed the case for the PAC rests in part on its capacity to bring new pressures to bear on the policy process, to interest more citizens in campaigns and issues, and to force officials better to frame and defend their policies."

Competition is what makes our democratic system survive. Organizing, competing, involvement by individuals of every shape and form--yes, even those who work for business and give of their own hard earned time and money--this is what makes our political system work.

All citizens should urge the members of Congress to continue to expand the opportunities for participation in our system of government, and reject the efforts of those who would restrict the rights of individuals or groups to make their views known.

LOBBYING LAW REFORM IN THE STATES BY COMMON CAUSE

From Common Cause, September, 1983

Public participation in governmental affairs is a fundamental democratic principle that is protected by state constitutions and by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Lobbyists provide information that is essential to informed decisionmaking, and in their representative capacities, give legitimacy to governmental decisionmaking.

Lobbying is a carefully guarded right of a free people. Nevertheless, the magnitude of special interest lobbying in the states necessitates its full and timely disclosure. "Otherwise," as former Chief Justice Warren wrote in upholding the federal lobbying act, "the voice of the people may be all too easily drowned out by the voice of special interest groups seeking favored treatment while masquerading as proponents of the public weal" (347 U.S. 612, 625).

The Problem

The positive aspects of lobbying should not obscure its social costs. Industries and groups with economic interests have tended to dominate the lobbying process--banking in New York, oil and gas in Texas, insurance in Illinois, real estate in California, chemicals in Delaware, utilities in Georgia, trade associations in Massachusetts, and so on. Since public officials must often rely on information from lobbyists, there is an overrepresentation of certain viewpoints and a resulting lack of balance in the public decisionmaking process.

Common Cause Founding Chairman John Gardner has said: "In the Special Interest State that we have forged, every well-organized interest 'owns a piece of the rock.'" Interest groups are often able to control government decisions in their areas of particular concern, and the result is public policy too often based on who has money and access to government officials, not on whether the policy is in the public interest.

The reason for massive special interest pressures on state government is quite simple--state government offers enormous economic opportunities to those in a position to cash in on the basic needs of children. Schools and roads must be built, water supplied, and sewage removed. Under the new federalism, important environmental, consumer, and other decisions are increasingly being made at the state level.

While bribery is not dead in America, lobbying techniques have changed a great deal since the golden age of graft when Mark Twain commented: "I think I can say, and with pride, that we have legislatures that bring higher prices than any in the world." Special interest groups no longer buy entire legislatures, but they continue to spend enormous amounts of money to gain access to public officials.

Critics of lobbying law reform have argued that improved lobbying regulations would be too complex for public interest lobbies to meet and that the act would instead benefit the larger, wealthier, better staffed organizations. Though initially this did seem to be the case, it appears that delays in filing were more a function of the law's newness. In California, which passed a strong lobbying law as part of Proposition 9, the former Chairman of California's Fair Political Practices Commission, Daniel Lowenstein, agreed:

> The reporting requirements were difficult and time consuming during the startup period in 1975 ... that period with its problems has long since died.

The amount of money disclosed by lobbyists varies considerably from state to state. For example, in California, which has a strong lobby disclosure law, over $31 million was reported in 1980. In New York, which has a less stringent law, $7.2 million was disclosed in the same year. Reports from a number of other states indicate the need for reforms:

- Pennsylvania/CC revealed that in 1982, all lobbyists in Pennsylvania reported spending $110,626. Common Cause estimates the real figure of lobbyists' expenditures exceeds $20 million. Thirty of the biggest lobbies in the state reported no expenses, including the Pennsylvania State Education Association, insurance companies and utilities, the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce, the AFL-CIO and the American Petroleum Institute. Only 185 of the 653 registered lobbyists in Pennsylvania filed reports. Ninety-eight of those listed no expenses.

  Annual expenses disclosed by lobbyists in other states demonstrate the inadequacy of Pennsylvania's lobby disclosure law. Pennsylvania Power and Light Company reported $9,520 for lobbying. In constrast, New York Consolidated Edison reported $260,000. Similarly, Pennsylvania Bell reported no expenses in 1982 while California Pacific T&T reported $550,000.±/

- The California Fair Political Practices Commission reported that for the year 1980, special interests spent over $31 million to influence state legislative and executive branch decisions. Pacific Telephone and Telegraph again led all spenders with an expenditure of $1,278,000, more than double their 1979 outlay. Of that sum, over $1 million was spent to lobby the state's Public Utilities Commission.

±/ In 1982, Common Cause would appear to be the biggest spender, reporting $32,852 on lobbying activity. In its disclosure statement, CC/Pennsylvania included office expenses, salaries, mailing and phone costs.

- In 1981, lobbyists' expenditures in the state of Washington reached almost $7 million. According to the Washington State Public Disclosure Commission, 10 organizations and firms accounted for 20% of the total amount reported by the 522 employers. Of those ten, all spent more than $100,000, with the Washington Education Association (WEA) and the Ranier National Bank spending over a quarter of a million dollars each. WEA employed over 100 lobbyists and was the largest spender ($284,626) for the fourth consecutive year.
- The New York Temporary State Commission on the Regulation of Lobbying disclosed that for the year 1981, lobbying expenditures topped $8.2 million. The biggest spenders were banking interests (over $1 million), business and commerce groups ($900,000) and the health care industry ($700,000).

Gifts are seldom a quid pro quo for a vote, but they guarantee the lobbyists access to public officials that the average citizen does not have. This access often means influence.

The influence of special interest groups has not gone unnoticed by the public. In December 1980, pollster Louis Harris revealed: "By an overwhelming 84-12 percent, a majority is convinced that 'special interests get more from government than the people do.'"

Common Cause Proposals

Common Cause Founding Chairman John W. Gardner has cited two reasons for the lack of public confidence in government: "The two chief obstacles to responsive government are money and secrecy: the scandalous capacity of money to buy political outcomes, and the bad habit of doing the public's business behind closed doors." Because lobbying is big business, Common Cause believes that states should adopt a comprehensive lobbying statute to require the full and timely disclosure of special interest lobbying activities. Such a statute would include the following principles:

- Registration and reporting of expenditures by all persons and groups that receive or spend a significant sum of money on lobbying. The public has a clear interest in knowing who is attempting to influence governmental decisions and by what means. Disclosure reduces the secret lobbying that undermines governmental accountability. Employers of lobbyists and lobbyists themselves should file separate registration and expenditure forms. The average citizen who spends little money lobbying should be exempt, but citizens' groups that spend significant sums of money to lobby should be covered.
- Coverage of those who attempt to influence the executive branch and the independent regulatory agencies as well as those who attempt to influence legislators. The public's interest in knowing the activities of those who attempt to influence governmental decisions is no less because the decision is to be made by the bureaucracy or the executive rather than the legislature. This is increasingly important because of the growing number of administrative and regulatory agencies dealing with consumer and environmental problems. Yet a 1976 Common Cause study found that most states do not require even minimal disclosure of lobbying efforts directed toward public utility commissions.
- Comprehensive and periodic disclosure of special interest lobbying expenditures. Lobbyists and their employers should report their sources and amounts of income, their expenditures (with major

expenses itemized), and the matters they have attempted to influence. These reports should be made on a regular basis (monthly while the legislature is in session and quarterly during the rest of the year) so that citizens and public officials can have the opportunity to judge special interest pressures before acting on the matters for which the pressures were brought.

- Identification of public officials who receive gifts from lobbyists and a limitation on such gifts. Gifts are used by lobbyists to seek access to public officials that average citizens do not have. The date, beneficiary, amount, and circumstances regarding each gift valued over some minimal amount should be disclosed. No lobbyist should be able to give any official over $100 in gifts in a single year.
- Tough sanctions enforced by an independent enforcement commission. While the goal of lobbying laws is disclosure rather than criminal convictions, this goal will only be achieved through strong administration backed by tough penalties. Knowing violation of the law should be a criminal offense. The law should be enforced by an independent commission with members who are not otherwise public officials, a fulltime staff, and strong enforcement powers. Citizens should be able to sue to enforce the law when the appropriate officials do not.

Progress in the States

In 1964, the historian Edgar Lane described state lobbying laws: "Narrow in origin and approach, they have for the most part been enacted in haste and allowed to atrophy in leisure--and all the while the little world they seek to capture goes right on changing." Over the past decade, however, the states have made considerable progress in opening lobbying activities to greater public scrutiny. Although laws vary in scope and effectiveness, 42 states have adopted significant new lobbying disclosure provisions since 1972.

Forty-four states require reporting of expenditures[1]; over half of these states require separate reports by the lobbyist and the employer. All states require at least some form of registration. Twenty-seven state laws cover attempts to influence executive branch decisionmaking (Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin).

According to the Council of State Governments, filing requirements break down this way: of the 27 states that now require activity reports more than once a year, 14 states require monthly reports during all or part of the year (Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Connecticut, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Nebraska, Nevada, Texas, and Washington); five states require quarterly reports only (California, Delaware, Minnesota, New Jersey, and Oregon); and twelve other require two or more reports per year (Hawaii, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin).

Fourteen states have independent commissions to enforce their lobbying laws (Alabama, Alaska, California, Connecticut, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Virginia, and Washington).

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[1] Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Utah, and Wyoming do not.

Several States have limited gifts from lobbyists to legislators. In Michigan and Nebraska, the limit is $25 per month, while in California the limit is $10 per month. In Oregon, Nevada, the District of Columbia and Massachusetts, the limit is $100 per year.

Legal Action

Lobbying laws have been challenged most frequently on the grounds that they restrict freedom of political expression. Though many court decisions have struck down sections of laws as too narrow or too vague, most decisions have been favorable.

In November 1980, Montanans approved a ballot initiative (No. 85) to require employers of lobbyists to disclose lobbying receipts and expenditures. Under the new law, employers spending more than $1,000 a year on lobbying are required to submit reports at the middle and the end of each legislative session. Moreover, reports must be filed in months when lobbying expenditures exceed $5,000 and at the end of the calendar year if information has not been disclosed up until that date.

Montana also requires lobby disclosure reports to include the identification of sources contributing $250 or more to lobbyists if the money is specifically earmarked for lobbying activity and identification of lobbying interests. State legislators must also report business interests valued at $1,000 or more.

Several employers sued to strike down the law as unconstitutional. The state district court did just that, ruling that I-85 violated a lobbyist's right of speech, petition, and association. The case was then appealed to the state supreme court, which restored most of the major provisions, except those regulating non-legislative lobbying. In a sharply worded decision, the court ruled that, "the compelling need for this type of legislation is demonstrated by both common understanding and judicial precedent, so no additional evidence need be presented."

The toughest of the lobbying laws enacted in the 1970's is the California Political Reform Act of 1974. Known as Proposition 9, this act was petitioned to the ballot by citizens' groups and was adopted by 70 percent of the voters in June 1974, despite the active opposition of business and organized labor. Proposition 9 provides in part:

- detailed monthly expenditure reports by lobbyists and their employers while the legislature is in session and quarterly reports at other times;
- coverage of persons and groups that attempt to influence quasi-legislative actions by state agencies as well as actions by the state legislature;
- a $10 per month limit on how much a lobbyist may spend on any public official;
- tough penalties enforced by an independent, bipartisan Fair Political Practices Commission.

On August 23, 1979, the constitutionality of Proposition 9 was upheld by the California Supreme Court (Fair Political Practices Commission v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County, L.A. 30904, August 23, 1979). The Court did, however, strike down a provision prohibiting lobbyists from making or arranging campaign contributions to state candidates as "a substantial limitation on associational freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment."

The Supreme Court of Washington State upheld the constitutionality of that state's broad lobbying law [517 P. 2d 911, 927-32 (1974) and 522 P. 2d 189 (1974)]. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear the appeal (42 U.S.L.W. 36636). The Washington Court stated in part, "The voting public should be able to evaluate the performance of their elected officials in terms of representation of the electors' interest in contradistinction to those interests represented by lobbyists."

The Washington law (Initiative 276 of 1972) requires lobbyists to register and report their expenditures monthly, including the identification of legislators who benefit from such expenditures. Employers of lobbyists must file annual reports and grassroots lobbying organizations must register and report their contributions and expenditures. There is an independent commission to enforce the law and citizens have standing to sue. According to an analysis of the Washington law in the National Civic Review, the "'chilling effect' of 276 on lobbying is hard to discover ... lobbyists have accepted and learned to live with 276." Lobbyists are easier to identify and one can now "find out which lobbyists are working for or against changes in labor laws, transportation, liquor and so on."

In 1973, the New Jersey legislature voted for disclosure of expenditures by lobbyists intending to influence legislation. Implementation of this process was delayed in the courts for seven years in an effort to eliminate the reporting requirement. The constitutionality of lobby disclosure provisions of the New Jersey Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Act was strongly affirmed by the New Jersey Supreme Court in a February 6, 1980 decision [New Jersey Chamber of Commerce v. New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission 82 N.J. 57, 411 A. 2d 168 (1980)]. Common Cause participated as an intervening defendant in the case. The Court applauded the statute as a "singular achievement on the part of the Legislature to further the cause of good government," and directed the Election Law Enforcement Commission to develop regulations. Almost as soon as regulations were adopted, new legislation was introduced which amended the law, and a new set of regulations was promulgated.

However, before the ink was dry, legislation was once again introduced to severely weaken the disclosure law. The change required lobbyists to report only those expenditures of food, gifts, honoraria and entertainment made "expressly" to discuss legislation. As a result, the total magnitude of the lobbying efforts through "good will" expenditures remains hidden from the public. Under the new change, if 24 hours passes before legislation is discussed, any "good will" entertainment cost goes unreported. A lobbyist could wine and dine a legislator and send him tickets to the Super Bowl, but if no legislation is discussed, none of those expenditures is reportable. But if a lobbyist calls up a lawmaker and urges him or her to support a given bill, the dime spent is a reportable expense.

The Role of PAC's

Regulation of lobbying has become more complex because of a three-way symbiotic relationship, sometimes called the "greenback triangle." This triangle is composed of a state official, an interested organization, and a lobbyist. Though these three players have existed for a long time, it was not until recently that they formed such a strong alliance. The glue that holds this new alliance together is the political action committee (PAC).

The PAC uses its constitutionally guaranteed right to give contributions as a way of rewarding those officials that act in its interest. Most states outlaw the direct giving of money from a lobbyist to an official. In the past, some lobbyists had to resort to legally questionable means to influence decisions. Currently, however, the lobbyist does not have to resort to such tactics. Instead, he can often act entirely legally as a middleman, directing his employer to use PAC money to make his point. The California Journal explained in October 1980:

> Money matters are generally left to the lobbyists' employers, who funnel funds quite legally through a growing variety of political action committees (PAC's). Obviously, it is difficult to distinguish the line between the influence of the lobbyist's arguments and the influence of the funds distributed by the interests they represent.

As one lobbyist put it in March of this year, "I won't even take a client now unless he's willing to set up a political action committee and participate in the [campaign donations] process."

Other Support for Lobby Disclosure

The Committee on Ethics and Elections of the National Conference of State Legislatures developed a model lobbyist registration and disclosure act in 1976. The NCSL model act requires registration and reporting by persons who attempt to influence policy decisions of the executive as well as legislative branch. Lobbyists are required to file quarterly reports (monthly during legislative sessions), including itemization of gifts and favors for public officials. There is a limit on the amount of gifts a lobbyist may give a public official. The act is enforced by an independent ethics commission with subpoena power.

The courts have also played a crucial role as citizens sued to preserve key provisions of existing laws. Some business leaders also have come forward to favor strong lobbying laws. One who does has said: "That's not the plaintive cry of a frazzle-haired liberal. That's the calm statement of a concerned association executive. Drag your members kicking and screaming into the 20th century. Make your members aware that in the wake of Watergate you must put forth a good public image."

The outlook for lobby disclosure laws is mixed. While a number of states have been successful in enacting major reforms in this area, in other states lobby activity remains virtually unreported. In 1983, bills were introduced in a number of state legislatures, including Florida, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont and Wisconsin in an attempt to create new or strengthen existing laws.

In Michigan, the lobby disclosure law has been challenged repeatedly by a coalition of over sixty lobbyists. While the Michigan Appeals Court upheld the basic provisions of the law, the plaintiffs have requested that the Michigan Supreme Court hear their appeal. At this time, the state Supreme Court has not decided whether they will hear the case.

RUNNING FROM THE PACs

They don't ban books in Boston or censor movies in Washington anymore, but Puritanism is alive and spreading in both places. Its target now is not sex but PACs. The righteous--led by the Globe in Boston and by Common Cause in Washington and elsewhere--are campaigning to cleanse the electoral process of political action committees. They have succeeded in forcing Democratic candidates for the Presidency and for the Senate in Massachusetts to renounce PAC contributions, and pressure is on candidates in other places to do likewise.

But the Puritans' victories are both temporary and harmful. Ultimately, attempts to extirpate the influence of money from politics must fail just as surely as attempts to keep sex out of literature and films, and for the same reason: both efforts infringe upon constitutionally protected rights of free expression. In the meantime, the competition among Democrats to demonstrate purity tends to overshadow other issues. The generalized attack on PACs obscures the differences between committees advocating worthy public causes and those promoting narrow special interests. And while the Democrats spend their time savaging each other for not renouncing PAC money early or often enough, the Republicans for the most part smile, sit back, and rake it in.

The goings-on in Massachusetts illustrate the power of latter-day Puritans to compel candidates to conform. The major Democratic candidates to succeed Senator Paul Tsongas score about equally on the major ideological litmus tests in America's most liberal state. They are all for a nuclear freeze, against acid rain, and for negotiations in El Salvador. The one real difference between them was that Representative James V. Shannon had accepted $38,150 in PAC contributions--15 percent of his total so far--while the other candidates had declared they would forgo PAC money. That difference became the focus of the campaign, with The Boston Globe last month demanding that Mr. Shannon--and also Republican candidate Elliot Richardson--demonstrate purity by doing the same. A Globe cartoon implied that Mr. Shannon had sold his soul to special interests for $38,000. Mr. Shannon buckled and agreed to accept no further PAC funds. Mr. Richardson, who at that time insisted he would accept PAC money on "a case-by-case basis," turned around a week later and said he planned to return $3,000 he had received from PACs and would take no more.

The case of the national Democrats illustrates another aspect of Puritanism. Inevitably it results in hypocrisy. Gary Hart and Walter Mondale had never been enemies of PACs before this year. Senator Hart accepted PAC contributions in his Colorado campaigns. Mr. Mondale even created a PAC of his own to pay his pre-campaign political expenses and to assist 1982 Democratic Congressional candidates. But Common Cause--with that most proper Bostonian, Archibald Cox, as its chairman--has succeeded in making PACs naughty. The result is that both Mr. Mondale and Mr. Hart have renounced PAC donations, except that Mr. Mondale is only too happy to accept other valuable help from labor unions and Mr. Hart would have done the same had he been able to get it.

In view of his solemn pledge not to accept PAC money for his campaign organization, Mr. Mondale was asking for political trouble in allowing committees of his delegates in various states to accept it. Mr. Hart was fully justified in attacking Mr. Mondale for hypocrisy, and Mr. Mondale was well advised to limit the damage by closing down the committees and giving back the money when he got caught. But the better course would have been for both candidates not to strike poses from the outset and to tell the truth to the public about campaign finance.

The truth is that PACs arose out of an earlier attempt to purify politics--the 1974 federal election law provision that limited individual contributions to $1,000 per candidate. Conceivably Congress could limit PAC contributions to less than the $5,000 per-PAC-per-candidate now permitted, but that would almost certainly result in an explosion of "independent expenditures" by PACs on behalf of candidates they favor and against candidates they do not. The U.S. Supreme Court has said--correctly--that people cannot be forbidden to spend their money on behalf of causes and candidates they believe in. Communication on behalf of candidates and causes costs money. Inevitably money will get where it's needed. The signal virtue of the 1974 election law was that it required full disclosure of who is giving how much to whom. That law actually furnishes Puritans with an opportunity for socially useful activity. Instead of trying to ban PACs entirely, they should concentrate on looking through the campaign finance and Congressional voting records to see who is in bed with whom.

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PAC SPENDING:
GETTING BIGGER ALL THE TIME

While a lot of people know political action committees (PACs) have been giving more than ever to congressional campaigns--up from $58 million during the 1980 election period to $86 million during the 1982 election period--until now, no one has known just exactly which groups were responsible for the increased giving. A new study by Common Cause reveals for the first time who they are.

Several stand out both in terms of the amount they gave in 1982 and the increases they made over spending in 1980. For example, PACs interested in issues related to Israel, which gave $85,000 in 1980, contributed well over $1 million to 1982 congressional campaigns. Government workers, under attack by the Reagan administration and sharply opposed to a proposal to include them in the Social Security system, increased giving by 210 percent, to $2.7 million. Teachers, who are concerned about the level of federal aid to education and a proposed tuition tax credit for private schools, gave $1.6 million, an increase of 152 percent.

Among the study's other findings:

- Spending by business and labor PACs in real estate and construction rose 53 percent, from a total of $6.1 million in 1980 to $9.4 million in 1982. These groups were interested in interest rates and laws dealing with the housing industry.

- Banks, their trade groups and other financial institutions gave more than $5 million in 1982--a 79 percent increase over spending in 1980. Chief among the banks' concerns was a proposal to have them withhold taxes from interest and dividends. Congress is expected to review the major law governing banks this year, and bankers are consequently expected to up the ante in 1984.

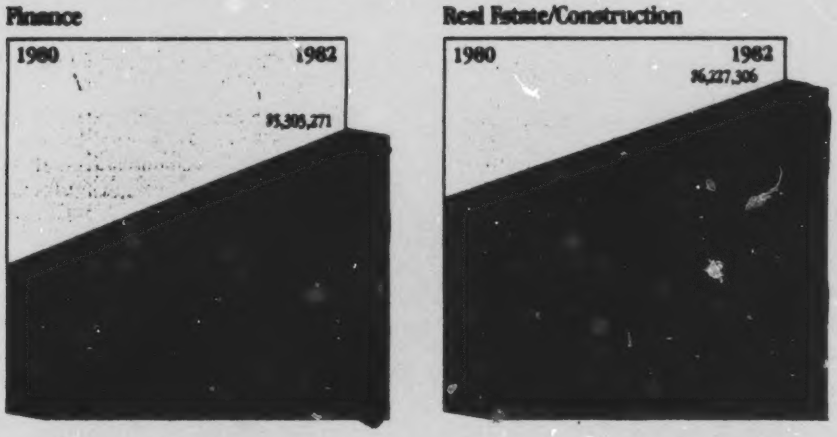
- Business PACs continued to be the most generous givers, emptying their PAC purses of $45.5 million in 1982, a 40 percent increase over 1980. And labor PACs continued to rank number two, breaking their 1980 record of $13.9 million by $6.7 million.

In other areas proving the power of the PAC, Common Cause found the following:

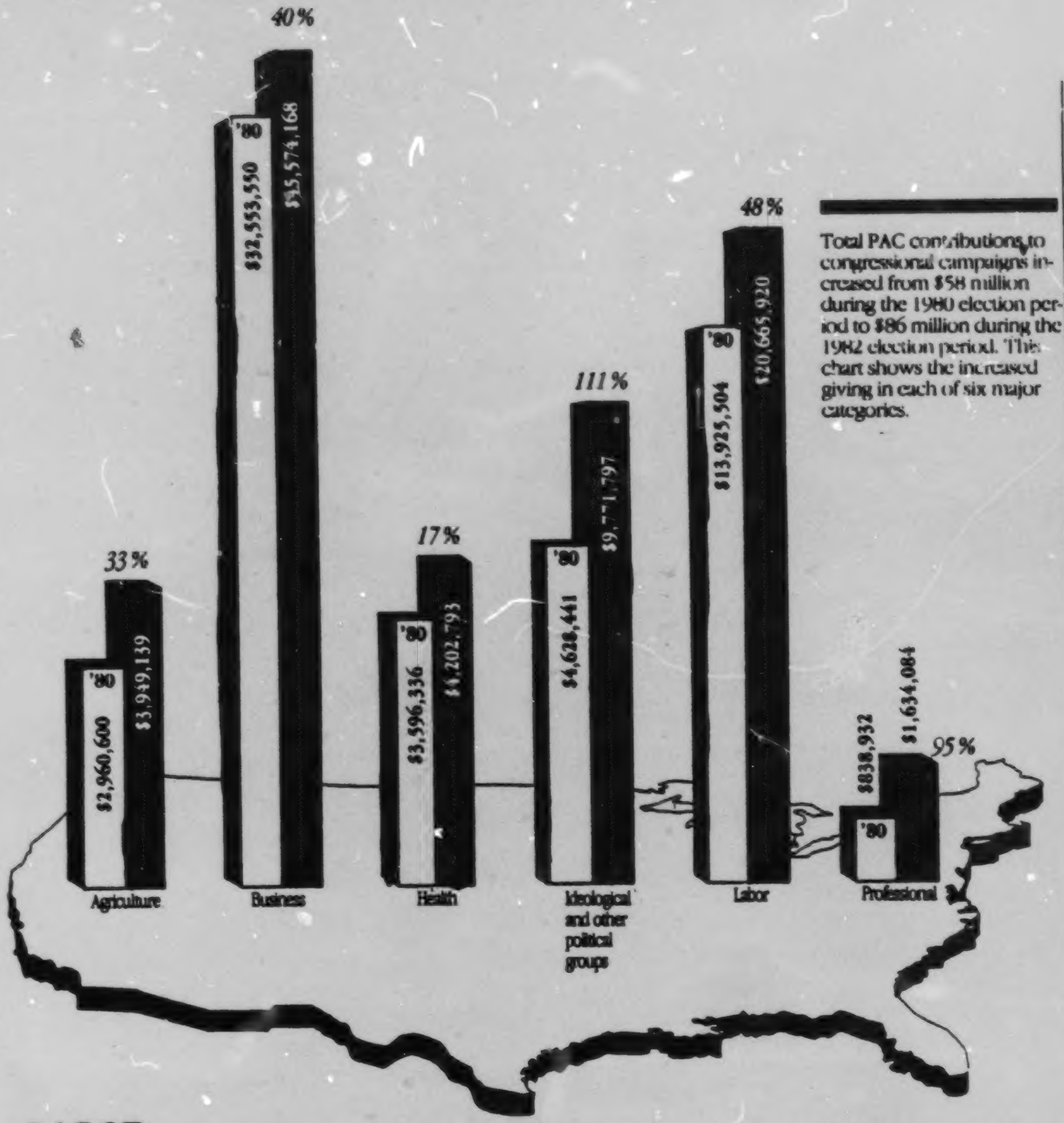
- Aerospace industry PACs more than doubled their giving in 1982, bringing it to $2.3 million, a development no doubt touched off by fights before the last Congress over increased defense spending and over specific weapons systems, among them the B-1 bomber and the MX missile.
- Communications industry PACs gave 57 percent more, for a total of $1.9 million, partly as a result of congressional debate over copyright fees for home video users; a comprehensive broadcast deregulation bill still pending before Congress; and a now withdrawn telecommunications reform bill.
- Professional PACs, such as those representing lawyers, gave $1.6 million, or an increase of 95 percent.

Campaign finance data compiled by
Randy Huwa, director of the Campaign
Finance Monitoring Project, and Jane
Mentzinger, research assistant.

BUSINESS



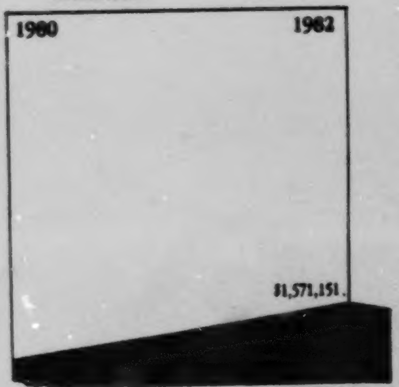
Several groups within the categories of business and labor dramatically increased their PAC contributions between 1980 and 1982. Those groups are shown here.



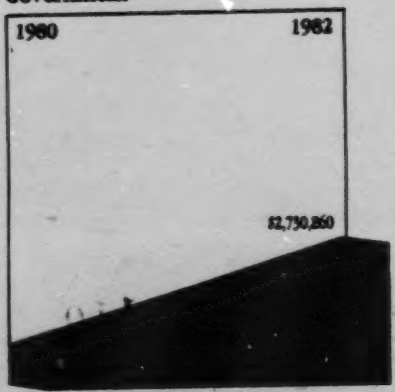
Total PAC contributions to congressional campaigns increased from $58 million during the 1980 election period to $86 million during the 1982 election period. This chart shows the increased giving in each of six major categories.

LABOR

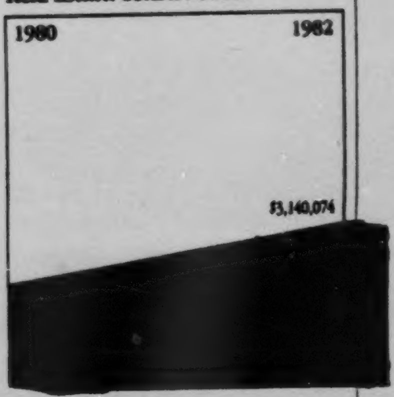
Education



Government



Real Estate/Construction



POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES

Explain what a Political Action Committee is and how they can support Congressional candidates, political philosophies, and causes. (By July of 1983 there were a total of 3,461 PAC's registered with the Federal Election Commission).

Pass out a copy of the H.B. introduced to check the power of PAC's.

Copy of House of Representatives Bill (H.B.)
introduced by Rep. David R. Obey (D-W):
address, 2217 Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C. 20515

Have students list ways they can think of that PAC's serve the public interest--have them list ways they think they might corrupt the democratic process.

Discuss in class, or give related homework assignment.

Initiate a letter-writing assignment to various members of Congress. Have students inquire about a particular Congressperson's opinion concerning PAC's.

Names, addresses: The U. S. Congress Handbook
P.O. Box 566
McLean, Virginia 22101

(703) 356-3572
Cost: $5.95 for single copy

POLITICAL DECISIONS

Ask the class to consider the following case.

> Mr. Markett is a member of the House of Representatives from a Michigan district in which a large Chrysler plant is located. Many of his constituents work at Chrysler or sell their goods and services to people who do. It began to look as if Chrysler might have to go out of business. If that happened, Chrysler employees would lose their jobs. People who sold goods and services to Chrysler employees would be hurt also. Chrysler officials believed they could keep the company going if they could get loans from bankers and government wage concessions from their employees. Chrysler asked for help from Congress.
>
> Mr. Markett has firmly believed that businesses should compete in the market on their own. Government ought not to give financial aid to any businesses. Still Mr. Markett is sure that many of his constituents want him to vote for financial aid to Chrysler. What should Mr. Markett do? Should he vote in Congress according to his own judgment or beneficial economic policy, or should he represent his constituents' views?

The class might talk over such questions as these. 1) Any legislator has constituents who differ on points of view. Which ones should he represent? Should the proposition of people wanting some policy influence what Mr. Markett supports? 2) Sometimes proposed legislation may be "good" for a home district, but "bad" for the country as a whole. To which interest, the home district's or the nation's, should a member of Congress pay most attention? 3) Is it right for Mr. Markett to be the representative of a district when he cannot conscientiously "vote their way"? 4) Are some issues more serious than others? Are there times when a member of congress must vote his or her convictions even if it means being defeated at the next election?

STATE LOBBYISTS SEARCHING FOR LOOPHOLES IN NEW LAW

By Jerry Moskal
Gannett Lansing Bureau

Lobby reform may finally be coming to Michigan, but not many expect the care and feeding of state lawmakers to end.

Already, lobbyists are scanning the fine print of the law that takes effect Jan. 1 for loopholes while some legislators root them on from the sidelines.

"As long as they think that buying someone a hamburger or giving $50 to their campaign fund will influence them (lawmakers), they'll do it," state Sen. John Kelly, D-Detroit, argued. "They'll find one way or another."

The stricter reporting requirements have been a long time coming. The statute was passed five years ago, but court challenges delayed its implementation. Lobbyists claimed the law was unconstitutional.

Among loopholes mentioned by lobbyists to avoid reporting requirements are getting part-time jobs with the media, entertaining legislators' staffers instead of the lawmakers themselves or even seeking exemptions as "religions."

Although they failed to prevail in the courts, they did persuade Ingham County Circuit Judge Robert Holmes Bell to put off the effective date until New Year's Day.

Attorney General Frank Kelley lost that skirmish, but he won the war. He argued that the effective date should be Sept. 22 when the State Supreme Court declined to review an appellate court finding upholding the law.

Instead of requiring mere lobbyist registration under current statutes, the new law:

- Makes anyone spending more than $1,000 a year to influence officials or $250 a year to influence one official to register with the state.
- Requires quarterly itemized reports of spending more than $25 in one month or $150 in one year to wine and dine any one official.
- Prohibits gifts worth more than $25 to a public official in one month.

- Bars lobbyists from making loans to legislators or other state officials.

- Mandates lobbyists to keep all accounts, bills, receipts, papers and documents for five years.

- Provides varying penalties for violations, ranging upward from $10 a day in fines. More serious infractions could bring fines up to $1,000 for individuals or $10,000 for organizations, and 90 days to three years in jail.

Kelley, the state's chief law enforcement official, hailed the high court's decision that paves the way for implementation of the statute, saying he's been pushing for the reform for two decades.

He complained, however, over the additional time the lower court provided for compliance.

"They (lobbyists) may not have believed it was coming, but they had plenty of time to prepare for it," said Mike Shore, his spokesman.

While the Senate's John Kelly saw nothing wrong with dining with a lobbyist, he proclaimed his support for the law.

"Basically," he said, "I think it's a good idea. I think it could be simplified in procedure. I hear the lobbyists complain about it, but they complain about everything."

Kelly said he wasn't swayed in his decision making because a lobbyist picks up the tab for lunch or dinner. Lawmakers draw $31,000 in salary and $6,200 for expenses in Lansing.

"I have fairly firm convictions," he said. "I know what I'm doing. I have my agenda ... For the weak-hearted, it may have an effect. I don't know. It hasn't influenced my voting record."

Eyebrows were raised when Kelly earlier this month used the Lansing mansion of lobbyist J. Dennis Burns to stage a fund-raiser. But Kelly sees nothing wrong with that. He noted that auto dealers, dentists and other groups allow free use of their buildings for such activities.

"A house is different," he contended. "It's a lot more pleasant for people to come to."

He estimated the $50-a-head fund-raiser netted his campaign coffers about $5,000.

While the new law requires reporting of spending on wining and dining, lobbyists aren't required to detail expenditures on tickets to campaign fund-raisers or for officeholder accounts. Those are reported by officials under separate state laws.

Lobbyist Burns, who makes no secret of his disdain for the new law, isn't shy about disclosing the number of fund-raisers he attends. He conceded that attendance at these affairs may strengthen his clout for his 13 clients.

"I go to a fund-raiser three, four times a week," he said. "I'm a believer in fund-raisers anyway because it costs money to run for office."

"I suppose you do gain influence. If you don't, why do you pay $50 to go out to eat. You can eat for a hell of a lot less than that."

As for taking lawmakers out to lunch or dinner, Burns said, the purpose is not to buy influence.

"I don't think anyone is influenced over a lousy $4.95 lunch or even ten $4.95 lunches," he said. "It's one of the few opportunities to communicate with legislators when you consider they're in session all morning to noon and all afternoon to dinner."

State Rep. Dominic Jacobetti, D-Negaunee, chairman of the House appropriations Committee, said that while he voted for the lobby reform law, he does have some reservations.

"If my uncle is a lobbyist and his nephew gives me a gift upwards of $25, he has to report that," he grumbled. "Why should he have to report a gift in the family? Why doesn't everyone report that? ... If someone gave something to my son or grandson, that has to be reported."

He said the reporting of lunches doesn't bother him.

"I don't go with those guys anyway," he said. "I can't remember the last time I had lunch or dinner with a lobbyist. I go to my apartment and eat. I don't care what (restrictions) they pass."

Lansing State Journal, 11/20/83

GOOD MARKET FOR EX-LAWMAKERS

By Jerry Moskal

From the Lansing State Journal

You may find it hard to believe that it's better to give than receive.

But it's true.

Anyway, so it would seem from glancing down the list of Michigan's 300 registered lobbyists. At least 16 former legislators and 10 ex-government officials who often in the past had been wined, dined and wooed by players of the trade are now lobbyists themselves.

The latest to add his name to the list is former State Sen. Bill S. Huffman, D-Madison Heights. He got so tired of receiving all that advice that he resigned from the Senate to do a little giving.

Even though his seat in the Senate has hardly had a chance to cool, he has already lined up four clients to represent before his former colleagues.

On his list are the M & B Equipment Co. of Novi, Madison Community Hospital, United States Oil and Gas Technology Conference and the Vettraino Management Co. of Mt. Clemens.

Although that's a good start, he has a long way to go to catch up to the master of the craft, former State Rep. James Karoub. It takes more than two pages to list Karoub's clients - 33 in all.

Among those are food dealers, contractors, finance companies, health and dental plans, hospitals, the Detroit Lions and Tigers, police, the advertising industry, auto dealers, landscape architects and pharmacists.

Another state senator who resigned in recent years to become a lobbyist, John T. Gowman, apparently got off to a fast start, showing 16 affiliations. Those range from opticians to nursing homes to cemeteries.

Not far behind is former House Republican Minority Leader Dennis O. Cawthorne, who now has a stable of 14 clients, ranging from chemicals, railroads and shipbuilders to schools and pathologists.

Former State Sen. Daniel S. Cooper, D-Oak Park, has insurance, apartments, chiropractors, oil and real estate in his lineup. Former House Speaker Robert E. Waldron, R-Grosse Pointe, who reigned during the '60s, is a one-issue man. He represents the American Petroleum Institute.

It was almost natural that when former State Rep. William L. Jowett, R-Port Huron, got into the business that the Michigan Funeral Directors Association hire him. Jowett, who had been a funeral director, also has four other clients.

Former State Rep. Tom Holcomb, D-Lansing, has bingo vendors among his three clients; former Rep. Robert E. Dingwell, D-Lansing, the United Auto Workers; former Rep. E. D. O'Brien, D-Detroit, distilled spirits; and, former Sen. S. Don Potter, R-Lansing, assessors and municipal electric.

Former Rep. H. James Starr, D-Lansing, has K-Mart and R. L. Polk Co.; former Sen. Milton Zaagman, R-Grand Rapids, has 14 clients; former Rep. Robert Mahoney, D-Detroit, Michigan Hospitals; and former Rep. Joseph F. Young Sr., D-Detroit, represents Wayne County. His son, Joe Jr., is a member of the House.

Then there are former state officials on the lobbyist list - like William N. Hettiger and Tom Drake, formerly on Gov. William G. Milliken's staff; former Labor Director Barry C. Brown; John R. Calkins, onetime agriculture deputy director; Eugene B. Farnum, former director of the Senate Fiscal Agency; David Froh, ex-director of the Michigan State Housing Authority; Marilyn Jean Kelly, former State Board of Education member; David F. Machtel

Jr., former House Republican staff member; and Thomas O. Reel, ex-highway safety planning director.

Jerry Moskal is chief of the Lansing Gannett News bureau.

PROCEDURES FOR BEING PLACED ON THE BALLOT

Qualifications for Candidates

National Officials - Elected

President
Must be a natural born citizen, at least 35 years of age, a resident within the U.S. for a minimum of 14 years. Limited to two terms. Salary: $200,000, plus expense allowances.

Vice President
Same qualifications and term of office as president. Salary: $79,125, plus expense allowances.

U.S. Senators (Total 100)
Must be at least 30 years old, a citizen of the U.S. for 9 years, a resident of the state from which elected. Every state has two Senators. One third (33) are elected every two years. Eligible for unlimited re-election. Salary: $69,800 plus expense allowances.

U.S. Representative (Total 435)
Must be at least 25 years old, a citizen of the U.S. for 7 years, a resident of the state from which elected. Elected every two years from districts apportioned according to population. Eligible for unlimited re-election. Salary: $69,800.

National Officials - Appointed

Cabinet Members
Heads of U.S. Departments are appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate. Departments include State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, Labor, Interior, Agriculture, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Energy, Transportation and Education. Salary: $69,630.

Supreme Court Justices
The Chief Justice and 8 Associate Justices are appointed for life by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate. Salary: $96,800 for Chief Justice, $93,000 for Associate Justice.

State Officials - Elected - Partisan Ballot

Governor
Must be at least 30 years old, a registered elector in the state 4 years preceding election. Salary: $78,000 plus up to $20,000 expenses.

Lieutenant Governor
Same qualifications as governor. Elected with governor as a team. Salary: $53,000, plus up to $7,000 expenses.

Attorney General
Required only to be a qualified elector in the state. Duties: chief legal officer of the state. Represents the state in all claims. Salary: $75,000.

Secretary of State

Required only to be a qualified elector in the state. Duties: Supervises elections; keeps state records; registers motor vehicles; compiles and publishes laws. Salary: $75,000.

State Senator (Total 38)

Must be a qualified elector in the district represented. Term is concurrent with governor. Salary: $32,000, plus $6,700 expense allowance, plus mileage provisions.

State Representative (Total 110)

Must be a qualified elector in the district represented. Salary: $33,200, plus $6,700 expense allowance, plus mileage provisions.

State Board of Education (8 members)

Must be registered and qualified electors in the state. Duties: plans for all public education and advises legislature as to financial requirements of education, appoints the superintendent of public instruction. Salary $80 per diem for President of Board, $70 per diem for other members.

Board of Regents, University of Michigan
Board of Trustees, Michigan State University
Board of Governors, Wayne State University

Each board has 8 members who must be qualified and registered electors of the state. Duties: supervises its own university and controls expenditures of its funds. Salary: Expenses.

State Officials - Elected - Nonpartisan Ballot

Judges

All judges in Michigan courts are elected. All must be licensed to practice law in Michigan and at the time of the election must not have reached the age of 70. Vacancies are filled by appointment by the governor. Judges so appointed file affidavits of candidacy and run for office at the next general election. Judges of the Circuit Courts, Probate Courts and District Courts must reside in and are elected by the voters in the district served.

Supreme Court (7 members)

Nominated at fall party conventions. Two are elected every two years on nonpartisan ballot in general election. Salary: $74,000.

Court of Appeals (3 Districts, 6 Judges in each)

Nominated and elected at nonpartisan election in district in which they reside. Salary: $71,040.

PETITIONS

Preparation

If you plan to circulate a nominating petition or a statewide ballot question petition in Michigan, you should first contact the election official with whom your petition will be filed. The election official will provide you with the applicable regulations, the number of signatures needed on your petition, the filing deadline and other essential information.

Petition For	Contact
State or Federal Office which represents an area larger than one or county or which crosses county lines[1] Court of Appeals, Circuit Judge or District Judge Statewide Initiative, Constitutional Amendment or Referendum	Secretary of State Elections Division Mutual Building 208 N. Capitol Lansing, MI 48918 (517) 373-2540
State or Federal Office which represents one county or less[1] Probate Judge[2] County Office Precinct Delegate	County Clerk
City Office	City Clerk
Township Office	Township Clerk
Village Office	Village Clerk
School Office	Secretary of School Board
Community College Office	Secretary of Community College Board of Trustees

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[1] Candidates for the following state and federal offices file petitions: Governor, State Senator, State Representative, U.S. Senator and U.S. Representative

Financial Disclosure

All state and local candidates and many statewide ballot question groups have financial disclosure obligations under Michigan's Campaign Finance Act. Contact the Secretary of State's Campaign Finance Reporting Section in Lansing or your county clerk for details. Candidates running for federal office should contact the Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463, for disclosure information.

Obtaining Petitions

Candidates: The following chart lists the type of petition that you must use. Upon request, the election official(s) listed will provide you with a reasonable number of petition sheets at no charge. Nominating petition sheets may also be purchased from commercial suppliers.

Statewide Ballot Questions: Before you have your petition sheets printed, contact the Elections Division in Lansing for advice as a precaution against errors.

ALL PETITIONS MUST BE IN THE FORM

REQUIRED BY STATE LAW

Petition For	Use	Obtain From
Governor, State Senator State Representative, U.S. Senator or U.S. Representative	Partisan Countywide Petition[1]	County Clerk
Court of Appeals, Circuit Judge, District Judge or Probate Judge	Non-Partisan City and Township Petition	County Clerk
City Office	Partisan or Non-Partisan City and Township Petition (whichever is appropriate)	City or County Clerk
Township Office	Partisan City and Township Petition	Township or County Clerk
Village Office	Partisan or Non-Partisan Petition (whichever is appropriate)	Village or County Clerk
School Office	Non-Partisan School Office Petition[2]	Secretary of School Board
Community College Office	Non-Partisan School Office Petition	Secretary of Community College Board of Trustees
Precinct Delegate	Partisan Precinct Delegate Petition	County Clerk

[1] Candidates who are permitted to use countywide petitions may use partisan city and township petitions if they wish.

[2] A separate petition form is designed for intermediate school district candidates.

Circulation

Nominating petitions are circulated within the area represented by the office. Statewide ballot question petitions are circulated throughout the state. Before a petition can be circulated, the blank in the heading of each sheet must be filled in.

- In the heading of a countywide petition sheet (Governor, State Senator, State Representative, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative and statewide ballot question only) the name of the county where the sheet will be circulated must be listed. The sheet may not be circulated in any county other than the one named in the heading.

- In the heading of a city and township, village, school or precinct delegate petition sheet, the name of the county and city, township, village, school district, or precinct where the sheet will be circulated must be listed as appropriate. The sheet may not be circulated outside of the area specified in the heading.

- In the heading of all nominating petitions it will also be necessary to fill in the candidate's name and address, political party affiliation (if the candidate is seeking a partisan office), title of the office, office district and date of the primary election if held.

DO NOT CIRCULATE PETITION SHEETS WITH INCOMPLETE HEADINGS. IF A PETITION SHEET IS FILED WITH AN INCOMPLETE HEADING, THE SIGNATURES ON THE SHEET ARE NOT COUNTED. THE CIRCULATOR MAY NOT CHANGE THE HEADING ON A SHEET AFTER THE SHEET IS SIGNED BY THE FIRST SIGNER.

Circulators

- Circulators of nominating petitions and statewide ballot question petitions must be registered to vote in the state of Michigan. Circulators of nominating petitions for local offices may be required to reside in the county, city, township, village, school district or precinct where circulating; check state law and local statutes for regulations.

- The circulator must complete and date the certificate at the bottom of the sheet after gathering the last signature he or she intends to collect on the sheet. Signatures on a petition sheet which are dated after the date on the circulator's certificate are not counted.

- All circulators should know where and when to turn in their petition sheets to avoid filing delays.

Petition Signers

- If the petition is circulated on a countywide basis (Governor, State Senator, State Representative, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative and statewide ballot question only), the signers must be registered voters of a city or township located within the county named in the heading. Signers of countywide petitions must specify the city or township in which they are registered. If the signer lives in a city that overlaps county lines, the circulator must make sure that the sheet with the appropriate county named in the heading is signed.

- If the petition is circulated within a city, township, village, school district or precinct, the signers must be registered voters of the city, township, village, school district or precinct named in the heading. If the petition is circulated within a city, village or school district that crosses county lines, the circulator must make sure that the sheet with the appropriate county named in the heading is signed. EXCEPTION: If the petition is for a school office in a nonregistration school district the signers do not have to be registered to vote; they must, however, have the qualifications of a voter and must reside in the county and district named in the heading.

- Urge all signers to sign their names as they are registered. For example: Mary Smith should not sign her name as Mrs. John Smith .

- Every signer must include his or her address (including post office) and the date. A zip code number is not a post office address.

- A signer is not permitted to sign for anyone else. For example: Mary Smith may not sign for her husband.

- All signatures must be signed in the presence of the circulator. A circulator must not leave a petition unattended in a public place.

Filing

File your petition with the election official listed in the first chart.

Make sure you know the applicable filing deadline; late filings are not accepted. If your filing is large, it is a good idea to call ahead.

If you want a copy of your petition, copy it before you file. The filing official with whom you file may not have the time or the equipment to copy your petition when you file.

The Final Check

Carefully check each sheet before you file.

- If a signer's address is left off, incomplete, or outside the county, city, township, village, etc., named in the heading, cross the signature off.

- If the circulator did not complete the certificate, the sheet is invalid and should be removed from the filing.

- If you are filing more than one nominating or statewide ballot question petition, make sure that sheets from one filing are not mixed in with another filing.

- If the petition sheets have detachable tops with instructions or advertising, remove them before filing.

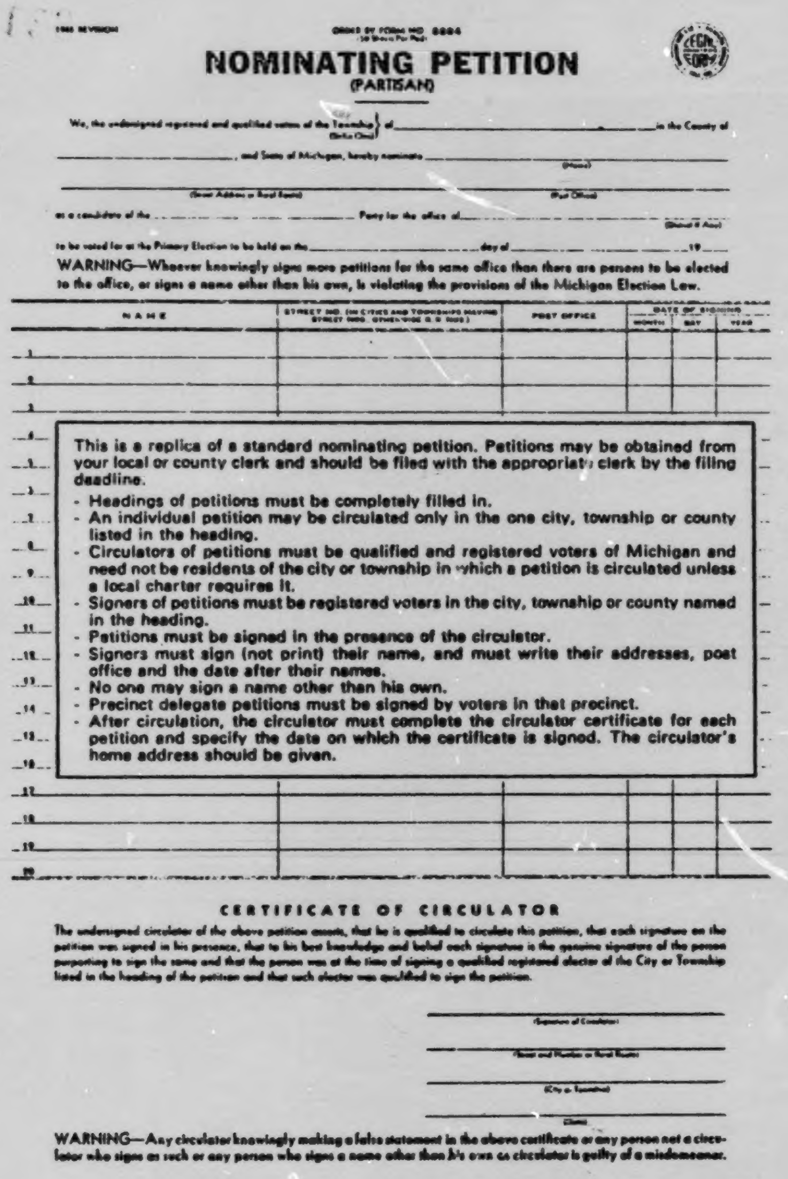
Additional Filing Requirements

- A candidate for Governor, State Senator, State Representative, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative or county office must file an Affidavit of Identity (two copies) when making a petition filing.

- A candidate for Court of Appeals, Circuit Judge, District Judge or Probate Judge must file an Affidavit of Identity (two copies) and an Affidavit of Constitutional Qualification (one copy) when making a petition filing.

- Any candidate who has changed his or her name within the last 12 years must submit a Change of Name Affidavit when making a petition filing.

UPON REQUEST, THE ELECTION OFFICIAL WITH WHOM YOU FILE WILL SUPPLY YOU WITH THE REQUIRED AFFIDAVITS.



1968 REVISION

ORDER BY FORM NO. 8884 (50 Sheets Per Pad)

NOMINATING PETITION
(PARTISAN)

We, the undersigned registered and qualified voters of the City / Township (Strike One) of ______ in the County of ______, and State of Michigan, hereby nominate ______ (Name)

______ (Street Address or Rural Route) ______ (Post Office)

as a candidate of the ______ Party for the office of ______ (District if Any)

to be voted for at the Primary Election to be held on the ______ day of ______ 19__

WARNING—Whoever knowingly signs more petitions for the same office than there are persons to be elected to the office, or signs a name other than his own, is violating the provisions of the Michigan Election Law.

	NAME	STREET NO. (IN CITIES AND TOWNSHIPS HAVING STREET NOS. OTHERWISE R.R. NOS.)	POST OFFICE	DATE OF SIGNING MONTH	DAY	YEAR
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						

This is a replica of a standard nominating petition. Petitions may be obtained from your local or county clerk and should be filed with the appropriate clerk by the filing deadline.

- Headings of petitions must be completely filled in.
- An individual petition may be circulated only in the one city, township or county listed in the heading.
- Circulators of petitions must be qualified and registered voters of Michigan and need not be residents of the city or township in which a petition is circulated unless a local charter requires it.
- Signers of petitions must be registered voters in the city, township or county named in the heading.
- Petitions must be signed in the presence of the circulator.
- Signers must sign (not print) their name, and must write their addresses, post office and the date after their names.
- No one may sign a name other than his own.
- Precinct delegate petitions must be signed by voters in that precinct.
- After circulation, the circulator must complete the circulator certificate for each petition and specify the date on which the certificate is signed. The circulator's home address should be given.

CERTIFICATE OF CIRCULATOR

The undersigned circulator of the above petition asserts, that he is qualified to circulate this petition, that each signature on the petition was signed in his presence, that to his best knowledge and belief each signature is the genuine signature of the person purporting to sign the same and that the person was at the time of signing a qualified registered elector of the City or Township listed in the heading of the petition and that such elector was qualified to sign the petition.

______ (Signature of Circulator)

______ (Street and Number or Rural Route)

______ (City or Township)

______ (Date)

WARNING—Any circulator knowingly making a false statement in the above certificate or any person not a circulator who signs as such or any person who signs a name other than his own as circulator is guilty of a misdemeanor.

NOMINATING REQUIREMENTS FOR PARTISAN AND NONPARTISAN OFFICES

All partisan and non-partisan candidates wanting to qualify for the August primary ballot must file their petition with the appropriate clerk by 4 p.m. of the ninth Tuesday preceding the election.

1980
Primary Election: Tuesday, August 5
Filing deadline: 4 p.m., Tuesday, June 3

1982
Primary Election: Tuesday, August 3
Filing deadline: 4 p.m., June 5

Incumbent judges wanting to be nominated for re-election must file an affidavit of candidacy stating that candidate is domiciled in district, is an incumbent judge, and will not be 70 years old by election day. Affadavit must be filed not less than 120 days before Primary Election.

1980
Incumbent Judge Affadavit of Candidacy due: April 7

1982
Incumbent Judge Affadavit of Candidacy due: April 5

Partisan candidates: No party may have a candidate listed unless its principal candidate received more than 5 percent of the total votes cast for the office of Secretary of State in the last election at which a Secretary of State was chosen.

AUGUST PRIMARY ELECTIONS — Partisan Ballot

OFFICE & TERM	FILE WITH	REQUIREMENTS FOR FILING FOR CANDIDACY
U.S. Seantor (168.93) 6 yrs.	Michigan Secretary of State	Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast by the party for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen.
U.S. Representative (168.133) 2 yrs.	Districts of one county/or less: County Clerk Districts of more than one county: Michigan Secretary of State	Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast by the party in the district for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AUGUST PRIMARY ELECTIONS — Partisan Ballot

OFFICE & TERM	FILE WITH	REQUIREMENTS FOR FILING FOR CANDIDACY
Governor (168.53) 4 yrs. 1982	Michigan Secretary of State	Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast by the party for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen.
State Senator (168.163) 4 yrs. 1982 State Representative (168.163) 2 yrs.	Districts of one county or less: County Clerk Districts of more than one county: Michigan Secretary of State	$100.00 Filing Fee OR Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast by the party in the district for Secretary of State at the last election at which one was chosen.
County Offices (168.193) 4 yrs. Clerk[1] Register of Deeds[1] Treasurer Prosecuting Attorney Sheriff Drain Comm. Auditor[2] Coroner Road Comm.[3] Surveyor[3] Executive[3]	County Clerk	$100.00 Filing Fee OR Petitions signed by qualified and registered voters equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast by the party in the county for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen. 1. These offices may be combined by the Board of Supervisors. 2. Applies only to counties which elect an auditor. In counties with a population over 1,000,000 the term is 6 years. 3. Applies only to counties which elect these officials. 4. Filing fees are returned to those nominated.
County Commissioners (46.411) 2 yrs.	County Clerk	$100.00 Filing Fee OR Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast in the district by such party for the office of Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen.

AUGUST PRIMARY ELECTIONS — Partisan Ballot

OFFICE & TERM	FILE WITH	REQUIREMENTS FOR FILING FOR CANDIDACY
Township Offices (168.349) 4 yrs. Supervisor Clerk Treasurer Trustees	Township Clerk	**General Law Townships** Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the number of votes cast in the township for party's nominee for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen. Petitions must have a minimum of 5 signatures. **Charter Townships** Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the total number of votes cast for the office of supervisor at the last election. (42.4)
Village Offices (168.536a, b) President Trustees Clerk Treasurer Assessor		Village primaries and elections, unless specified otherwise in a charter, shall be held the 3rd Monday in February (Primary) and the 2nd Monday in March (General). Village offices are established by law. (168.382). Individual villages may establish other offices and terms of office.
City Offices		Offices, terms of office, and election procedures are determined by individual city charters.
Precinct Delegates		See 'Who's Who at the Grass Roots Level of Politics', page 14.

AUGUST PRIMARY ELECTIONS — Non-Partisan Ballot

OFFICE & TERM	FILE WITH	REQUIREMENTS FOR FILING FOR CANDIDACY
Court of Appeals (168.409) 6 yrs.	Michigan Secretary of State	Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors of judicial district equal to not less than ½ of 1 percent nor more than 2 percent of the total number of votes cast in that appellate district for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen.
Incumbent Appellate Judge	Michigan Secretary of State	Affadavit of candidacy stating candidate is domiciled within district, is an incumbent judge, and will not be 70 years old by election day. Affadavit must be filed 120 days before primary election.

AUGUST PRIMARY ELECTIONS — Non-Partisan Ballot

OFFICE & TERM	FILE WITH	REQUIREMENTS FOR FILING FOR CANDIDACY
Circuit Courts (168.413) 6 yrs.	Michigan Secretary of State	Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors of the judicial district equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the total number of votes cast in that judicial circuit for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen. In counties over 1,000,000 population petitions must have not less than 5000 nor more than 20,000 signatures.
Incumbent Circuit Judges		Affadavit of candidacy stating candidate is domiciled in circuit district, is an incumbent judge, and will not be 70 years old by election day. Affadavit must be filed not less than 120 days before primary election.
Probate Courts (168.433) 6 yrs.	County Clerk (In probate districts comprising more than one county: Michigan Secretary of State)	Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors of county or judicial district equal to not less than 1 percent nor more than 4 percent of the total number of votes cast in that county or judicial district for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen. In counties with a population over 1,000,000 petitions must have more than 5000 but less than 20,000 signatures.
Incumbent Probate Judges		Affadavit of candidacy stating candidate is domiciled in district, is an incumbent judge, and will not be 70 years old by election day. Affadavit must be filed 120 days before primary election.
District Courts (168.467) 6 yrs.	Michigan Secretary of State	Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors in district equal to not less than ½ of 1 percent nor more than 2 percent of the total number of votes cast in that judicial district for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen.
Incumbent District Judges		Affadavit of candidacy stating candidate is domiciled in district, is an incumbent judge, and will not be 70 years old by election day. Affadavit must be filed 120 days before primary election.
Municipal Courts (168.426a) In cities of 1,000,000 or more population: Detroit is the only qualifying city and the court is Recorders Court. In cities with less than 1,000,000 population, municipal courts (where they remain) are governed by local charters.	City Clerk	$100.00 Filing Fee OR Petitions signed by qualified and registered electors of city equal to not less than ½ of 1 percent nor more than 2 percent of total votes cast in that municipality for Secretary of State in the last election at which one was chosen.

NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTIONS — Partisan Ballot

1980
General Election: Tuesday, November 4

1982
General Election: Tuesday, November 2

In addition to those nominated in the primary elections, the following offices are included in the general elections.

OFFICE & TERM	FILE WITH	REQUIREMENTS FOR FILING FOR CANDIDACY
State Offices: (168.72) 4 yrs. Lieutenant Governor Secretary of State Attorney General	Party files with Michigan Secretary of State within 24 hours of conclusion of state party conventions	Nominated at fall party conventions.
Education Boards (168.282) 8 yrs. State Board of Education Board of Regents University of Michigan Board of Trustees Michigan State University Board of Governors Wayne State University	Party files with Michigan Secretary of State within 24 hours of conclusion of state party conventions	Nominated at party conventions. Each party may nominate two candidates for each board to be placed on the November ballot.

NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTIONS — Non-Partisan Ballot

Supreme Court (168.392,392a) 8 yrs.	Party files with Michigan Secretary of State after fall convention.	Two persons nominated by each party at fall party conventions.
Incumbent Supreme Court Justices	Michigan Secretary of State	Affadavit of candidacy for the November general election stating candidate is domiciled in state, is an incumbent judge, and will not be 70 years old by election day. Affadavit must be filed 180 days before term ends (before July 5).

Not more than two Supreme Court Justices may be elected at any one general election.

How are Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States Nominated at the Conventions?

Candidates for President and Vice President are nominated by two methods--individual and party action declaration.

Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates nominated through the major parties are chosen at national political conventions, which traditionally meet in July or August of Presidential election years. Delegates to those conventions are chosen through some form of Presidential primary, some form of caucus/convention system, or a combination of both. The delegate selection process within the two major parties for the most recent Presidential election began in 1980 in Iowa (on January 21) and was completed on June 28 (for Republicans) and July 12 (for Democrats).

The pre-nomination campaign may begin within the major parties as early as a candidate wishes to announce and begin organization and fundraising. Only funds raised after January 1 of the year preceding the Presidential election year qualify for Federal matching funds, however.

How are Presidents and Vice Presidents elected?

The general election campaign for independent or nonmajor party candidates may begin as early as the candidates wish. Major party Presidential campaigns traditionally begin on Labor Day and, therefore, last approximately 2 months.

The Presidential election is actually a series of elections, by State and the District of Columbia, to fill the office of Presidential elector. There are a total of 538 electors. In 47 States and the District of Columbia, electors are chosen by a winner-take-all, at large system, which awards all the electors from any one jurisdiction to the popular vote winner therein; in Mississippi and South Carolina, electors are elected as individuals; and in Maine, one elector is chosen in each (of two) Congressional districts and two are chosen at large. In spite of these present opportunities--and other past opportunities--for a divided electoral vote in a State, electors pledged to different Presidential candidates have not been elected from the same State since 1916.

Elector candidates pledged to nonmajor party--or independent--Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates must satisfy individual State laws regarding ballot access. The requirements vary greatly from State to State. In 1980, although the Federal Election Commission listed 21 Presidential candidates appearing on 1 or more State ballots, only 4 candidates were on the ballot in all 51 jurisdictions choosing electors: Anderson (National Unity and 6 other party or independent lines), Carter (Democratic), Clark (Libertarian), and Reagan (Republican). These 4 tickets together received over 99 percent of all popular votes cast.

What are the qualifications to vote in a national election?

In general the qualifications for voting in a national election are established by each State or jurisdiction which conducts the election. However, the Congress, through constitutional amendments and statutes, has provided certain standards for participation in Federal elections. The 24th amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits a poll tax or any other tax from being a prerequisite for voting, and the 26th amendment provides that all U.S. citizens who are 18 years of age or older cannot have their right to vote abridged or denied on account of age. The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 provided for the abolition of continual residency requirements for voting in Presidential elections and required the States to provide for absentee registration and voting in Presidential elections.

Otherwise, in every State and the District of Columbia, a prospective voter must be a U.S. citizen, a resident of his or her State and, in most States, must register prior to voting. Most States close their registration rolls 20 to 50 days prior to the election. However, four States permit voters to register on the day of the election and one State does not require any registration.

Who is responsible for the conduct of elections in the United States?

The conduct of elections is the responsibility of the States subject to the requirements of the Federal Constitution. The Constitution provides, and the Supreme Court has ruled, that Congress has the power to regulate Federal elections in order to maintain the purity of the electoral process, and State elections in order that they be in conformance with constitutional requirements.

For most of our history, Congressional regulation was minimal. In recent years, however, Congress has enacted a number of laws to regulate elections. In addition, five amendments to the Constitution the 14th, 15th, 19th, 24th, and the 26th, directly bear on the electoral process. Since 1957, Congress, exercising its constitutional authority, has enacted laws designed to prevent racial discrimination in the election process, namely the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964. In 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act which suspended for a stated period of time all tests and similar devices which had been used to discriminate against minority groups, particularly black citizens. This same legislation authorized Federal officers to register voters and to observe elections to insure that there was no discrimination. In 1970, Congress extended, for an additional period of time, the test suspension features of the 1965 Act and reduced the residence requirements imposed by States as a prerequisite for voting for Presidential electors. The 1970 amendments also enfranchised all citizens between 18 and 21 years of age. A short time later the Supreme Court held that Congress could lower the voting age only for Federal elections. This ruling paved the way for the rapid adoption of the 26th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In 1975 Congress again extended the Voting Rights Act, placed a permanent nationwide ban on the use of literacy tests and devices and expanded the Act to provide coverage for minority groups not literate in English and to require affected States and jurisdictions to offer certain kinds of bilingual assistance to voters.

How was the choice of a national election day made?

The Constitution provides [in Article II, Section 1,], "The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States." In 1972, Congress by law designated the first Wednesday in December as the date for Presidential electors to meet and cast their votes for President and Vice President. This same Act required the States to "appoint" their electors within 34 days of the date set for the electors to vote. Following this Act until 1845, there was no national election day and each State fixed its own date, usually in November, for the selection of Presidential electors. The decision to create a single national day for the selection of Presidential electors grew out of the need to prevent election abuses resulting from electors being selected on separate days in neighboring States. Thus in 1845, Congress established by law that in each State the electors were to be selected on the "Tuesday next after the first Monday in the month of November of the year in which they are to be appointed." In 1872, the Congress adopted legislation requiring States to hold their elections for Members and Delegates to the U.S. House of Representatives on the same day. After the adoption of the 17th amendment providing for the direct popular election of U.S. Senators, Congress enacted legislation in 1914 to require that U.S. Senators also be elected on the same Tuesday in November.

Tuesday was selected to protect the rights of persons opposed for religious reasons to holding elections on Sunday or traveling to the polls on that day. Therefore, it was desirable to have at least one day intervening between Sunday and election day. The first Tuesday of the month was eliminated because it might fall on the first day of the month and inconvenience businessmen.

From Our American Government, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1981.

CANDIDATES TO BE ELECTED

National	Term
President and Vice President	4 years
U.S. Senators	6 years
U.S. Representatives	2 years

State	
Governor and Lieutenant Governor	4 years
Secretary of State	4 years
Attorney General	4 years
State Senators	4 years
State Representatives	2 years
Justices of Supreme Court	8 years
Judges of Courts of Appeals	6 years
Two members of each Board:	8 years
State Board of Education	
Regents of University of Michigan	
Trustees of Michigan State University	
Governors of Wayne State University	

County	
Board of Commissioners	2 years
Prosecuting Attorney	4 years
Sheriff	4 years
Clerk	4 years
Treasurer	4 years
Register of Deeds	4 years
Auditor*	4 years
Surveyor*	4 years
Drain Commissioner*	4 years
Mine Inspectors*	4 years
County Road Commissioners*	6 years
Judges of Circuit**, Probate and District Courts	6 years

Townships	
Trustees and Officers	4 years

* In counties where these offices are elective
** Some circuit courts cover more than one county

(Wayne, Oakland and Bay Counties elect a County Executive for 4 years.)

WHO'S WHO AT THE COUNTY LEVEL

County and Congressional District Conventions

Pre-State Convention

County and congressional district conventions of each party are held to elect delegates to its state convention. The state central committee of each party determines the day on which its county conventions are held concurrently throughout the state. County conventions are held unless the county contains more than one congressional district within its boundaries (168.592). These areas hold district conventions. For example, Wayne County contains several congressional districts completely within its boundaries and several which extend into other counties. Oakland County contains parts of several congressional districts. These counties hold district conventions. Less populated areas of the state may have many county conventions within one congressional district. District and county conventions operate in the same manner. They are open to visitors and are held at the county seat unless that facility cannot accommodate the delegates.

Post-State Convention

After the November general election the delegates to the county and district conventions (except in counties having a population over 1,000,000) reconvene by counties to choose the leadership of the county party organization. Counties of over 1,000,000 organize by congressional district.

County Executive Committee

The county executive committee (168.599) is composed of persons most recently nominated for county and state legislative offices plus members equal in number to those nominees. The members are selected by the county convention convened after the November general election. The county executive committee selects a chairperson, vice-chairperson of the opposite sex, secretary, and treasurer of the executive committee and the county committee.

County Committee

The county committee is the backbone of the party organization and is often called the work horse of the political party. It is selected by the county executive committee which determines its composition using one of the following structures as a base and adding many other persons: (168.599)

1. Two or more members from each ward of each city and two members from each township in the county. Or,
2. Two or more members from each election precinct in the county.

This committee is large and contains workers, party faithful, precinct delegates, and campaigners. During election years it attracts many workers who are instrumental in waging campaigns. National party candidates depend on county workers to do grass roots campaigning and detailed clerical work.

Congressional District Committee

The congressional district committee takes the place of the county committee in counties with a population over 1,000,000. The officers and members of the congressional district committee are elected in odd years, at a district caucus of delegates to the spring state convention. Besides the chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary and treasurer, fifteen (15) members are selected to serve two years (168.600). State legislators living in the district are also members of the district committee.

District committees in counties other than Wayne act as coordinating and advisory committees within the district. The county committee is usually responsible for the day-to-day operation of the party.

From The Green Grass Roots, League of Women Voters of Michigan, 1980

WHO'S WHO AT THE STATE LEVEL

State Convention

Delegates to the state convention of each party include delegates elected at its county and district conventions and all its incumbent members of the state legislature. The state central committee determines the number of delegates from each county by apportioning them according to the number of votes cast in each county for the party's nominee for either President of the United States or for the Michigan Secretary of State, whoever was elected in the last general election. The state central committee also calls the convention and selects the meeting place and date (168.598).

In even years the state convention is held in the fall. It decides policies and nominates the party's candidates for Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General (168.72), members of the State Board of Education, Regents of the University of Michigan, Trustees of Michigan State University, Governors of Wayne State University, (168.282), and Justices of the Supreme Court of Michigan (168.392).

In odd years the state convention is held in the spring. Here delegates select the state central committee members, its chairperson, and two vice-chairpersons (168.597). Its other officers are selected by the state central committee at its organizational meeting.

State Central Committee

The state central committee is the most powerful party organization in the state. The Democrats have 120 members and the Republicans have 97 members. Each party must have at least two men and two women for each congressional district (168.597). The Democrats apportion the rest of their members to reflect the strength of the party in areas across the state. The Republicans add the congressional district chairpersons. These members are chosen, along with the chairperson and two vice-chairpersons, at the spring state convention (168.597). State central committee members need not be official state convention delegates.

The state central committee calls, sets the time and place, and apportions the number of delegates from each county for the state convention (168.593). It formulates policy, carries on major fund raising, directs political action, and advises local groups. Overall leadership of campaigns for national and state offices is in its hands.

Governor

The Governor is the party's acknowledged leader having won the highest office in the state. The Governor's party is the 'in' party.

State Chairperson

The state chairperson of the 'out' party (the party not holding the Governor's chair) is usually considered that party's most important leader and acts as party spokesman. This person directs party activities and works to build up a party organization in order to win the Governor's chair and a majority of the state offices. The state chairperson of the 'in' party is responsible to the Governor for party operations and activities. The position of state chairperson is highly contested, with campaigning and speechmaking to win the votes of the delegates. In the past, conflicts for the position have occasionally split parties and caused breaks difficult to mend.

Other Leaders

Other leaders in both parties are United States Senators, United States Representatives, national committee members, leaders of the Michigan Senate and House, county and district chairpersons from the most populous counties, and influential leaders of large interest groups.

From The Green Grass Roots, League of Women Voters of Michigan, 1980

WHO'S WHO AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

National Convention

The high point of party visibility in the four-year election cycle is the national convention in the summer of each presidential election year. Here the party nominates its candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, adopts a national party platform which guides the direction of the party at least during the election, and approves the nominations from each state for the national committee. The number of persons admitted to a national convention and how those delegates and alternates will be apportioned among the states is decided by the national committee of each party.

This is the delegate composition of the 1980 national conventions:

- Democrat: 3331 National Convention Delegates, 141 from Michigan
- Republican: 1993 National Convention Delegates, 82 from Michigan

Delegates to National Convention

Michigan delegates to the national convention are chosen by party rules. A minimum of two thirds are selected by the elected states convention delegates in a caucus of their respective congressional districts. These district caucuses select the number of delegates allotted to its district from among persons who have designated openly the presidential candidate for whom they are committed (168.618). The remaining delegates, if any, are elected by the state convention as a whole. All delegates from Michigan are elected as nearly as is possible proportionate to the popular vote for each candidate in the presidential primary. Michigan delegates to the national convention must vote for their designated candidate at least through two ballots or until released by the candidate. A presidential candidate must have received at least 5 percent of the total vote for all candidates to receive a proportionate delegation (168.619).

National Committee

The national committee is the highest tier of the political party organization in the nation, but it does not control or exercise authority over the day-to-day business of the state and local parties. It makes high level decisions, arranges for the national convention, and promotes party organization and financing.

The composition of the national committee varies in the two parties. Both parties select one man and one woman from each state and the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The Democrats have added the Canal Zone and Guam. The Republicans include the state chairpersons of each state. The Michigan state chairpersons of both parties are members of their national committee.

National Chairperson

The national chairperson is the top professional politician and is usually selected after the national convention by the national committee according to the wishes of the presidential candidate. The national chairperson may be replaced by the national committee. The chairperson plays an important role in the party's fund raising and coordinates campaign and party activities. He or she frequently acts as the party's spokesman at the national level.

Michigan National Committeemen and the Committeewomen

National committeemen and committeewomen from Michigan are selected according to party rules. They take office at the close of the convention and serve for four years. They are prominent leaders in state politics and wield influence in party affairs. As representatives of their party, these people travel about the country and attend many meetings and functions. They must pay their own expenses for these activities.

Presidential Electors

The President and Vice-President of the United States are actually elected by the Electoral College (168.41). Each state has a number of electors equal to the number of United States Senators and Representatives in that state. Michigan has 21 presidential electors. In Michigan, in years in which a President is elected, we select our presidential electors at the fall state party convention. Each party's slate of presidential electors is pledged to vote for that party's presidential candidate. When you vote for a candidate for President, you really vote for a slate of electors. The electors of the party whose candidate received the highest popular vote convene in the Senate chamber in Lansing at 2 p.m. on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December following the November presidential election and cast their votes for President and Vice-President (168.47).

President of the United States

The President is the undisputed leader of the party. He is called upon to use his considerable influence by campaigning to give support and assistance to congressional and state candidates in areas where the party is in trouble. An ex-President continues to have influence and prestige.

Political Parties in Congress

After an election, members of Congress organize by party to choose their leadership, and to select a Senate and Congressional campaign committee. These committees raise funds and campaign for Senators and Representatives. Sometimes the party leaders in Congress compete with the national committee for control of the party organization. Congressional leaders are a force in the national party.

From The Green Grass Roots, League of Women Voters of Michigan, 1980

POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION IN MICHIGAN

As a voter you participate in "grass roots" politics by voting for precinct delegate in the party primary. This election occurs in even numbered years at the August Primary or the Presidential Primary according to party rules.

County/Congressional District Organization

Precinct delegates meet at county conventions or congressional district conventions to determine delegates to the state party convention. After the state convention, delegates meet again to choose the county executive committee and the congressional district committee. Congressional District committee members act as liaisons between the U.S. Representatives and party constituents.

State Organization and Conventions

Delegates elected at a political party's county and congressional district conventions represent the party's voters at the state convention. Delegates caucus and are seated on the convention floor by congressional district.

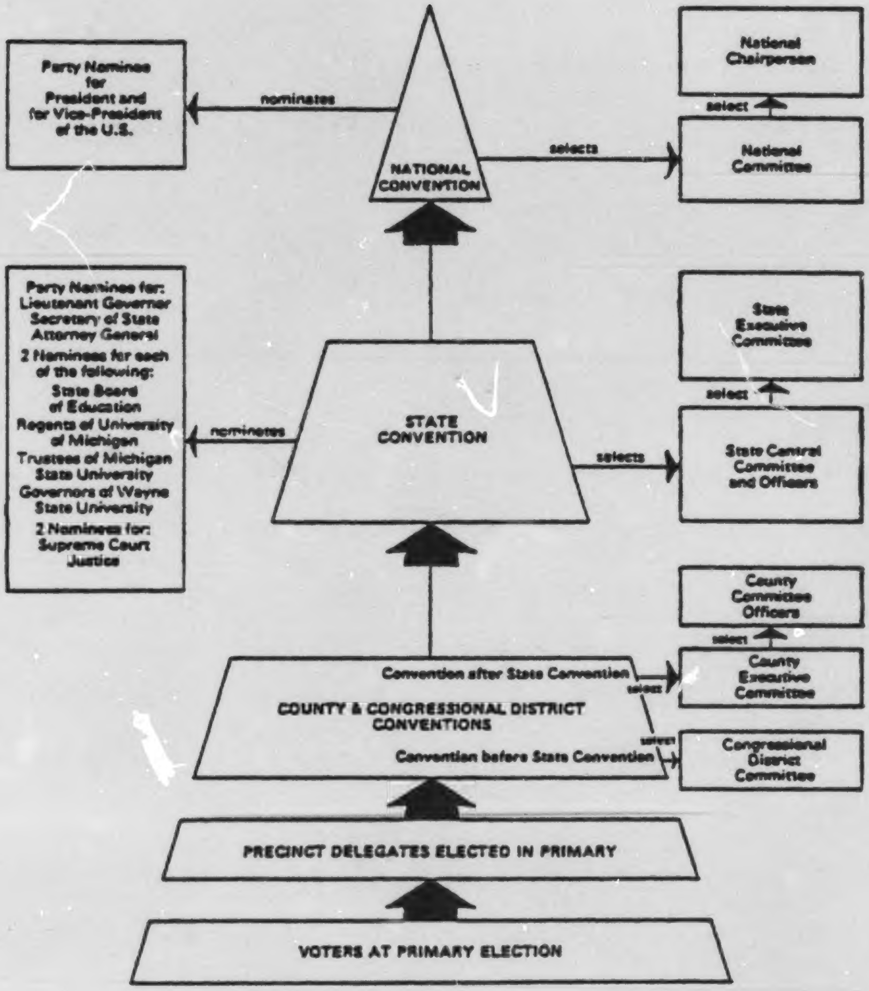
In the fall of even numbered years, state conventions are held to choose party nominees for lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, the supreme court and education boards.

State conventions are held in the spring of odd numbered years to elect the state central committee and other offices.

In presidential election years, state conventions choose members to serve on the Electoral College which elects the President and Vice President of the U.S.

From League of Women Voters of Michigan

Political Party Structure
in
Michigan


Party Nominee for President and for Vice-President of the U.S.
nominates
NATIONAL CONVENTION
selects
National Chairperson
select
National Committee
Party Nominee for: Lieutenant Governor Secretary of State Attorney General
2 Nominees for each of the following:
State Board of Education
Regents of University of Michigan
Trustees of Michigan State University
Governors of Wayne State University
2 Nominees for: Supreme Court Justice
nominates
STATE CONVENTION
selects
State Executive Committee
select
State Central Committee and Officers
County Committee Officers
select
County Executive Committee
Convention after State Convention
select
COUNTY & CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONVENTIONS
select
Convention before State Convention
Congressional District Committee
PRECINCT DELEGATES ELECTED IN PRIMARY
VOTERS AT PRIMARY ELECTION

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LEVIN EXPECTING TOUGH CAMPAIGN

By Tom Grose
Staff Writer

U.S. Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich., predicted he will win a hard-fought re-election campaign this year against a Republican challenger who will probably outspend him "by about $1 million."

Republicans think he is vulnerable because of his thin margin of victory in 1978 and because they expect President Reagan to handily win re-election, Levin said. Because of that, "a lot of money will be pouring into this state," he added.

Levin, who now has a war chest of about $700,000, said he expects to raise $2.25 million during the campaign.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee has pledged $549,000 to the GOP candidate.

The Detroit-born, freshman senator made his remarks at a Capitol City Airport news conference Monday--one of six he attended to announce his re-election plans.

Conceding that Reagan looks like a winner today, Levin said by fall the margin between Reagan and his Democratic challenger will be significantly narrowed. Levin said he will be re-elected regardless of whether Reagan carries Michigan.

Levin, 49, a Harvard-trained lawyer, would not predict who will win the GOP Senate primary, former U.S. Rep. Jim Dunn or retired NASA astronaut Jack Lousma.

He declined to say who he would rather run against.

And although he said he has polls showing him running far ahead of both Republicans, he also refused to release the figures. The polls lack credence because it's too early in the campaign and neither Dunn nor Lousma are well known, he said.

Although many observers give Lousma's well-heeled campaign the edge over Dunn's, Levin said it would be a mistake to discount Dunn, who he said is running "a very hard, hard-hitting campaign."

The Dunn-Lousma race has been marked by a series of sharp attacks against Lousma by Dunn. Many GOP leaders have chastised Dunn for running a negative, divisive campaign.

Dunn has charged Lousma with being a carpetbagger with little knowledge of state affairs. Lousma is a Michigan native, but has lived mostly in Texas for the last 25 years.

If he runs against Lousma and Lousma didn't seem to understand the issues, that would be a legitimate campaign topic, Levin said.

"But I would not call him a carpetbagger--maybe a recent immigrant, but not a carpetbagger," Levin added.

Levin said his campaign would stress "a new partnership between labor, management and government."

Symbolizing this partnership, he said, is his choice of campaign co-chairmen: former UAW President Douglas Fraser and Chrysler Corp. Chairman Lee Iacocca.

Levin is a former Detroit City Council member who won his first Senate term by upsetting former Republican Sen. Robert Griffin by a 52-48 percent margin.

From the Lansing State Journal

After students read the article on Levin's re-election announcement, have them answer and discuss the following questions:

1. Where does the money come from for the campaigns?

2. The amounts of money are very high. What is the money used for?

3. How much does the success of a campaign depend on money?

4. Do you think campaigns should cost so much?

5. Could anything be done to make them less expensive?

Ask for volunteers to find out how much advertising costs on radio and television and in newspapers. What does it cost to have flyers printed and designed?

6. Dunn has referred to Lousma as a "carpetbagger." What does the term mean?

7. How might the label effect Lousma's chances of winning the primary?

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Donald Riegle

Senator Riegle (D-Mich.) was elected to the Senate in 1976 after serving as a representative for 10 years. This article, written in diary form, gives an inside look at Senator Riegle's battle for his party's nomination. Senator Riegle is also the author of a book, O Congress, an account of the life and work of a U.S. Representative.

The alarm clock rings early this morning. It's 5:30 a.m., and Michigan Democrats will go to the polls in just two weeks. One year ago, I decided to put my 10-year career in the U.S. House of Representatives on the line by seeking the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate seat of retiring Senator Phil Hart. The pace has been frantic. Putting together a staff and an organization capable of reaching the more than 700,000 voters likely to cast ballots in the Democratic primary was difficult. Raising the necessary money to carry our message across 19 congressional districts, from Detroit to Marquette, continues to be a humbling experience.

The cause seems important to me, and I feel the outcome is vital to the future of Michigan. However, even with four candidates in both the Republican and Democratic primaries, the press has, for its part, largely ignored the race until just recently. Too often it has focused on opinion poll results and apparent scandals. Far too little attention has been given to the candidates' stance on the issues, plans for the future and past records of accomplishments.

Fortunately, after months of 16- and 18-hour days, seven days a week, I have built a base of volunteers and supporters. They have had multiplier effect on my own campaigning. They continue to deliver campaign literature. They even help with my name identification by "freeway flashing" (holding signs--bearing my name and the fact that I'm a Democrat running for the U.S.

Senate--over freeways to catch the eyes of motorists traveling home or going north for the weekend).

Nevertheless, the newspaper polls show me trailing, 44 percent for the leader to my 17 percent. The other candidates only received 13 percent and 1 percent. My instincts tell me not to believe those numbers, and our own poll figures show me dead even with a crucial and unusually large 25 percent of the electorate undecided. These undecideds hold the balance of power, and that is why I must go flat out these last two weeks. I must cut down on sleep, if possible. I must be prepared for the careful press scrutiny just now coming to the race and for which I pleaded for so long. Most important, I just keep my workers and staff going full steam. It is they who could make the difference. If we miscalculate, or if we don't identify our voters, or if we then fail to put forth the effort to get them to the polls, we will have lost one of our crucial advantages over the opposition--our grassroots organization.

No Sleep 'til It's Over

So as I shower and shave and throw on my suit, I realize that my exhaustion cannot last much longer. That is one curious fact about an election--you rest when it is over. Unlike a business, you cannot make up your losses during the next quarter. There is no consolation prize. Sure I'm young, and perhaps I could run again, but none of us can predict the future. The competition might be even tougher the next time. And if I win, well, then I become the nominee and there is another election in just three short months. However, as the nominee of my party things will be much different.

Michigan will be a target state for both presidential candidates. That means there will be national efforts to bring the voters to the polls in November. Certainly the strength of the presidential candidates' campaigns will impact on the Senate nominees. Many losing candidates have asserted that they would have been the victors if only the presidential candidate had run stronger or if they were running in a non-presidential election year.

But, it's July 1976, and Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale will probably face Gerald Ford and whomever he picks as his running mate. Since Michigan is the president's home state, the Republican senatorial nominee will definitely have an advantage. For that reason, I am pleased that our campaign has taken on a rather independent image. That is the way I am, and I think that is one of the great strengths we will have during the last two weeks. Most of my supporters have not been long-time Democratic party workers. They have been attracted to our effort for many reasons, but they are intensely loyal and hard-working. I hope that their strong convictions and dedication allow them to overcome the fatigue that I am feeling, and that I am sure they must be experiencing.

A quick cup of coffee and off to the suburban Detroit plant gate to greet auto workers as they head to work. You've got to greet them at the beginning of the day, because after a long summer day in the factory, not too many working people want to take time to chat as they leave work. They particularly don't want to chat with politicians. It's sad, but it's true.

In the closing weeks of the campaign, the candidate must maximize his time and go to the areas where he is likely to find Democratic primary voters. After figuring out where these voters are geographically, we have to determine which voters are firmly in my camp and which are solidly behind my opponents. With the race neck and neck, we need to isolate the undecided voters and appeal to them. Nevertheless, it's an improvement over my position earlier this year, trailing by such a significant margin that I had to change votes as well as convince the undecided voters to join our cause.

Using the Media for Best Results

In addition to the active organization that is crucial, I had to have an aggressive media campaign. There are just too many potential voters to even hope to reach them all by door-to-door campaigning, literature distribution, telephoning, "freeway flashing" and the like.

You have to be on TV and radio. You have to be on often enough and at the right times to reach your audience, and your advertisements must project an appealing image. The logistics behind an effective TV campaign program are complex. A great deal has to do with what they call "production," "timebuying," "market," "target audience," etc. But all of this hinges on the campaign's ability to buy the time and talent needed to wage a competitive TV campaign.

Raising money has turned out to be my most crucial obstacle to winning the election. I know how to campaign. I know how to motivate people. I can capture a majority of almost any audience I address. But I can never hope to address enough groups to earn the votes needed in this primary. So, I spend at least one-third of my time meeting privately with one person or in small groups and occasionally with larger groups to secure the contributions necessary to produce and place the all-important TV adds on the air.

We are living hand to mouth. It is now common for me to raise money in the morning necessary to pay for an ad that will run in the evening. Even though we are more successful than our opponents at raising money, we must now cut back on literature and other resources for the field staff. I am troubled by this and plan to contribute some of my own limited personal funds to see that one last printing of leaflets is ready for distribution the final weekend before the election. It appears that there is no way we can avoid going into debt. We must win! How else can we pay our debts?

So, off I go. A quick glance at the schedule, which reads like a script for an endurance contest: plant gates, a fund-raising breakfast, a press conference, a speech before a group of United Auto Workers retirees, a fund-raising luncheon, followed by some campaigning in a shopping center and a quick trip to the airport for a flight to another media market and another press conference. A change of clothes and a shower--if I am on time--before going to a cocktail party fund-raiser and dinner. Then I'll have to leave to go to a candidates' debate before an important labor group. Finally, I am slated to appear live on a local radio call-in program. I hope I'm still awake by then!

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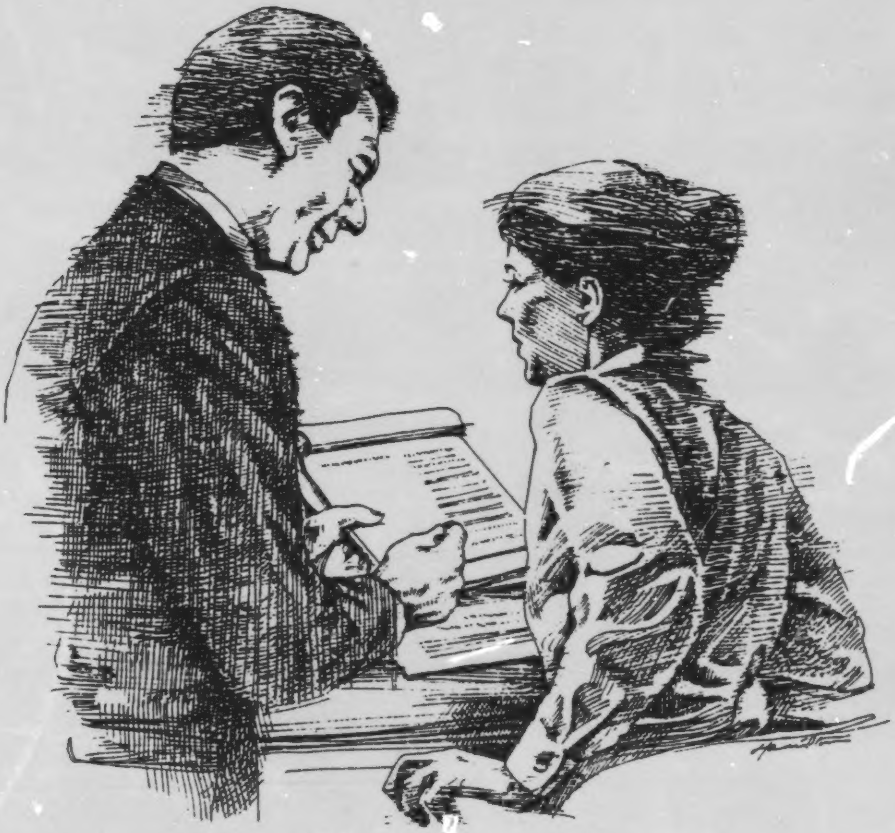

STASSEN MAKES LAST TRY, MAYBE

By Strat Douthat
Associated Press Writer

HUNTINGTON, W.Va. - Harold Stassen's appearance in West Virginia's Republican presidential primary could well be the last hurrah in a unique political career that dates back to 1938.

The 77-year-old Minnesotan seems resigned to his fate, whether history judges him a semi-comic perennial candidate or a man who cared so deeply that he was willing to subject himself repeatedly to the slings and arrows of a political misfortune.

Asked Thursday to estimate his chances in the June 5 primary, the last of the 1984 campaign, he could say only, "The power of the incumbency is so great..."

He was more precise in discussing the reasons behind his low-budget challenge to Ronald Reagan.

"What I am hoping to do is make this campaign a referendum on Reagan's policies," he told a handful of reporters at an informal news conference on the steps of the Cabell County Courthouse. "This is so important that somebody has to raise the issues."

Stassen's first run for the White House was in 1948, when Thomas Dewey captured the GOP nomination.

Since then, the three-time Minnesota governor has had his name on ballots in eight presidential races. And he has become a national symbol for perseverance -- or perhaps futility.

His repeated attempts to gain the presidency have made his name familiar to millions of Americans, most of whom probably would not recognize him on the street.

Dressed in a gray pin-striped suit and wearing an impeccable gray toupe, Stassen reviewed his career for a young radio reporter who wanted to know how many times he has tried for the presidency. His strong voice and clear gaze belied his age.

"You know," he told her, "I got my start when I was elected governor of Minnesota. I was the youngest person ever to be elected governor of a state."

The year was 1938 and Stassen, a lawyer, was proclaimed the 31-year-old "boy wonder" of American politics.

"But I want to know why you are running for president," the young woman persisted.

Stassen smiled -- a small, inward smile, almost a sigh.

"Had some younger person, a person with views similar to mine, stepped forward to discuss these crucial issues, then I would not be here," he said. "You know, the '48 campaign against Dewey was my most serious campaign. Since then, I have entered these races largely to talk about the issues."

Stassen, who has law offices in Minneapolis and Philadelphia, plunked down $2,000 to enter the West Virginia primary to talk about the issues in general and Reagan's policies in particular.

"He is terribly wrong in his foreign policy and on his domestic economic policy," said Stassen, whose only other primary campaign this year was in New Hampshire.

"America should be strong, but it also should be reserved in the use of its power," he said. "Reagan is making terrible mistakes."

Stassen said he was appalled by the president's willingness to use "excessive force" in pursuit of his foreign policy objectives.

"He was wrong to send the Marines into Lebanon, as everybody now knows," he said. "He should have sent in ambassadors with brains and kept the troops in reserve instead of sending them in, as he did in the Caribbean and as he appears to be getting ready to do in Central America."

On the home front, Stassen said, the president's economic policy has consisted mainly of fighting inflation by keeping millions of American's unemployed.

"We need greater restraints on the excessive use of credit to finance these giant corporate mergers, which bring about more unemployment, and we need to change our world trade policy and rebuild our steel industry," he said.

In all, Stassen said, he probably won't spend more than $5,000 in West Virginia, if he spends that much.

"New Hampshire was the curtain-raiser and West Virginia is the finale," he said.

He smiled when asked if it also is the last act in his political career.

"Who knows?" he said. "The legend is that many of my ancestors in Norway still were sailing their Viking ships at age 100.

Have students read and discuss article. Why do people run for office?

ELECTIONS IN MICHIGAN

Elections, and their regulation, have traditionally been a responsibility of states, and state laws have varied considerably in terms of who is eligible to vote, requirements for registration, when elections will take place, and types of elections to be held. Over a period of years, a number of federal laws and constitutional amendments have been passed which now prescribe some basic election policies relating to voting rights which all states must follow. Within these constraints, states continue to be responsible for conducting and administering elections including preserving the secrecy of the ballot and guarding against voting abuses. In Michigan, it is the job of the Director of Elections in the Department of State to carry out these responsibilities.

The Elections Division, headed by the director, has the general responsibility for implementing state election laws. The division prepares rules, regulations and instructions about elections; advises local election officials about proper election procedures and furnishes a manual of instructions for their use; publishes indexed pamphlet copies of registration and election laws; prescribes standard forms, reports, notices, and supplies; prepares the form of ballot for any proposed constitutional amendments; and investigates, or causes to be investigated, possible violation of election laws.

The responsibility to carry out the operation of elections in accordance with state law is delegated by the state to local government clerks.

Kinds of Elections

A. Primary Elections--held for the purpose of nominating political party candidates for specified offices. Michigan has two types of primary elections:

    1. Presidential Preference Primary, held on the third Tuesday in May of presidential election years to indicate the preferences of Michigan voters for presidential nominees. Depending upon party rules, which must be filed with the secretary of state by January 1 of a presidential election year, party precinct delegates may be elected in the presidential primary.

    2. Statewide Primary, held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in August before the general November election in even-numbered years. Party nominees are chosen in applicable years for governor, U.S. representatives and senators, state representatives and senators, state officers, county officers, county commissioners, and township officers. Nominees are also selected from among non-partisan candidates for judges of the Court of Appeals, Circuit, District, and Probate courts.

B. General Elections--held on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November of even-numbered years to elect from the nominated candidates in all parties the various local, state and national officials; to elect judges on a non-partisan ballot; and to decide any proposed ballot issues.

On the ballot:

Presidential Years
Partisan nominees for:

President and vice president
U.S. senators and representatives
State representatives
*2 members of the State Board of Education
*2 members of the governing boards of University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Wayne State University
County officers
County board of commissioners
Township officers

Non-partisan candidates for:

*Justices of Supreme Court
Judges of Appeals, Circuit, District and Probate Courts

Non-Presidential Years
All of the list to the left except:

President and vice president, and county officers

plus

Governor (and lt. governor*)
State senators
*State attorney general
*Secretary of state

C. Odd-Year Elections for Cities and Villages. The law provides for elections to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in August (primary) and November (general) in odd-numbered years for the nomination and election of city officers. Local ballot issues may also be voted on at these elections. However, a city or village charter may designate another means of nominating officials (e.g., party caucus) or another schedule of elections. A city may also choose by ordinance to hold the odd-year primary election in September.

D. Special Elections. Defined by law as "any election other than a regular election called by a competent authority for the purpose of choosing officials to fill vacancies in public office, or for submission to the electors of any public question." Special primary and general elections are required to fill vacancies for reasons other than expiration of a term (e.g., death, resignation, disability, recall), with dates set by the official or legislative body at the appropriate level of government. The governor is responsible for calling special elections to fill vacancies in the offices of U.S. representative, state senator or representative, and must give notification to the appropriate county clerks.

E. School Elections (local). The conduct of local school district elections, for members of school boards, millage and/or bonding proposals is governed by state laws applying to all elections.

From The State We're In, League of Women Voters of Michigan

The Road To The White House

ocal and State Conventions

eetings begin at the township or precinct level. The embers of each political party meet and elect elegates to the district and then to the state onventions. At the state convention, delegates are hosen to represent the state at the national onvention. At each level the presidential andidates compete to get their delegates elected.

Primary Elections

Some states have primary elections rather than conventions. The presidential candidates campaign against each other. In some states the primaries are called presidential preference primaries, which means that the voters vote for a particular candidate. In other states they vote indirectly for a candidate by voting for his/her delegates.

National Convention

Both the Republicans and Democrats hold their national conventions the summer before the election. These last about four days. The national convention chooses the presidential candidate, who then picks a vice presidential running mate.

Election Day

The Tuesday after the first Monday in November is election day. The voters choose a president by voting for the electors pledged to his candidacy.

Electoral College

It takes 270 out of 538 electoral votes to become president. The number of electors is equal to the total membership of the House of Representatives and the Senate, plus three for the District of Columbia. The electoral college meets officially in December to confirm the results of the election.

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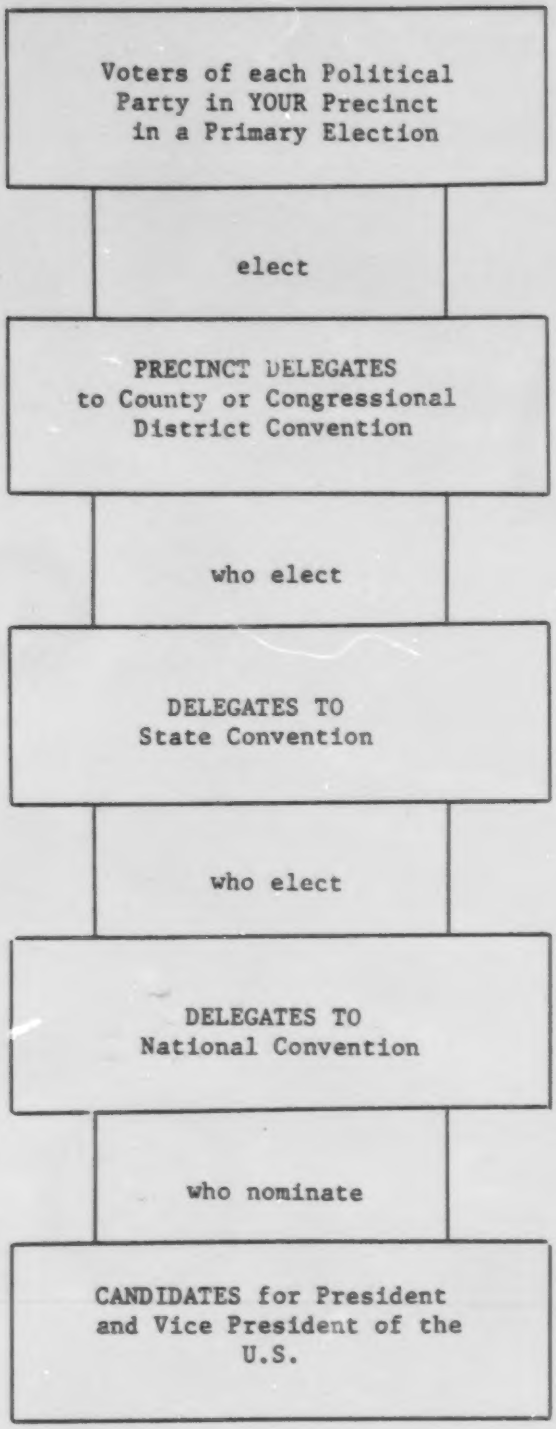
Voters of each Political Party in YOUR Precinct in a Primary Election
elect
PRECINCT DELEGATES to County or Congressional District Convention
who elect
DELEGATES TO State Convention
who elect
DELEGATES TO National Convention
who nominate
CANDIDATES for President and Vice President of the U.S.

From The State We're In, League of Women Voters of Michigan.

PRESIDENTIAL CAUCUSES

The caucus system is a more complex and lengthy delegate selection method than primaries. Instead of presenting voters with a single primary election ballot, the caucus is a multi-tiered system spread out over a number of months. Turnout in caucus states is usually much lower than in primary states, and caucus participants are largely committed party members and activists.

The first step of the process begins when party members meet in grassroots local precinct meetings to select delegates to the next stage of the process, usually county conventions. The precinct caucuses are open to all party members and take place in meeting halls and homes all across the caucus state (in Iowa there may be as many as 2,800 such meetings this year). The participants, most of whom openly declare their candidate preference, elect delegates to the county conventions. The county conventions then elect delegates to a state convention, where the national convention delegates are chosen. In Iowa, the county conventions are usually held in April and the state convention in mid-June.

Under Democratic party rules, at each point in the process the presidential preferences of the delegates chosen to go to the next stage must proportionally reflect the presidential preferences of the people attending the caucus or convention.

The presidential candidates openly campaign for votes only during the first stage of the process--the mass precinct level caucuses.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

Presidential primaries consist of two basic types: the presidential preference primary in which voters vote directly for the candidate they wish to nominate, and the delegate selection primary, in which voters elect delegates to the national conventions. Some states hold presidential preference primaries in which the actual delegates are chosen by another method, such as conventions. In this case, the delegates are expected to support the preference primary winner. In most states that hold delegate selection primaries, the presidential preference of the delegates is indicated on the ballot, so voters can express their presidential choice by voting only for delegates pledged to a particular candidate.

There are a number of ways in which delegates from primary states are allocated to candidates, the two most prevalent being the winner-take-all method and the proportional representation method. In a winner-take-all primary, the presidential candidate receiving the most votes, either on a statewide basis or in a particular congressional district, wins all the delegates, again either statewide or district-wide.

In a proportional primary, the delegates are divided up among the candidates in proportion to the percentage of votes each candidate receives. For example, a candidate who gets 50 percent of the vote gets 50 percent of the delegates, while a candidate who gets 20 percent of the vote gets 20 percent of the delegates. Under Democratic Party rules a candidate must receive at least 20 percent of the vote to win any delegates.

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PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

"A primary fight, at any level, is America's most original contribution to the art of democracy." wrote Theodore H. White in The Making of the President 1960. In a primary election, the voters choose their party's candidates for elective office. Presidential primaries are used to pick delegates to the national conventions that name each party's candidates.

In the nation's earliest days, Presidents were chosen by party leaders, generally men of stature. From the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln in 1865 to the turn of the century, the choice of presidential candidates was left in the hands of the party "bosses," men like "Boss" Tweed in New York and Abraham Ruef in San Francisco, whose methods of manipulating the voters were notoriously corrupt. Bosses wanted Presidents they could control through Congress, and their selections have gone down in history as undistinguished at best.

Early this century, the Progressive Movement, a broadbased reform campaign which went on to form a political party, worked for social change, including measures that would give control of key political processes such as presidential nominations to the voters of the party, rather than the bosses. The direct primary election, where voters finally got their say, was one reform the Progressives succeeded in pushing through. Since then, bossism has waned.

Presidential nominees are still chosen in national conventions, as they have been since the first convention in 1831. However, a large number of the convention delegates are now elected in state primaries or have instructions, based on the popular state vote, to support a specific candidate. By 1976, three quarters of all Democratic national convention delegates and more than two thirds of Republican delegates were chosen in primaries. Not all states have primaries, and the balance of delegates is still selected by party organizations in closed state caucuses.

It has been suggested that this jumble of state conventions, primaries, and caucuses be replaced by several regional primaries--or indeed that the whole process of nominating a party's presidential candidate be taken care of in one nationwide presidential primary. However, the present system--an amalgam as it is--will not soon be changed.

Why are some primary elections more important to candidates than others?
Would you change the primary system? If so, how?

IN CONGRESS. JULY 4. 1776.
The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.

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THE CONVENTIONS

There is something about a national convention that makes it as fascinating as a revival or a hanging. It is vulgar, it is ugly, it is stupid, it is tedious, it's hard both on the cerebral centers and the gluteus maximus, and yet it is somehow charming. One sits through long sessions wishing heartily that all delegates were dead and in hell--and then suddenly there comes a show so gaudy and hilarious, so melodramatic and obscene. so unimaginably exhilarating and preposterous that one lives a gorgeous year in an hour.

H. L. Mencken, 1924

Nominating conventions have changed in almost every way imaginable since H. L. Mencken cast his satiric eye on this uniquely American institution. Gone is the "brokered convention" in which a small group of "kingmakers" chose a presidential candidate in a "smoke-filled room;" gone too is the "favorite son" candidate--powerful governors or senators who tried to hold their state delegations as bargaining chips or merely sought a moment of glory at a national convention. Today, the choice of a presidential candidate is frequently a foregone conclusion, the delegates merely ratifying the choice made earlier by the primary voters. Party leaders and the prospective nominee, ever aware of the omnipresent television cameras, strive mightily to keep the speeches short, the demonstrations under control, the controversies under wraps. Their goal is to conduct a huge pep rally for the party, complete with pomp and ritual, carefully orchestrated and timed.

Still, even aficionados of conventions past would have to agree the conventions of today offer their fair share of melodrama. For sheer excitement and tumult, few conventions could match that of the Democrats in 1968 when thousands of demonstrators battled police in the streets of Chicago while inside the convention hall delegates traded blows and television reporters were attacked by "goon squads." Or what convention could be as surprising as the Democratic gathering of 1972 when George McGovern's "army" stormed the convention and captured the party? Even the relatively placid

Republican convention of 1980 had its moments of high drama, as when Ronald Reagan tried to entice former President Gerald Ford onto a "dream ticket."

Functions

That conventions have continued to survive at all--and that they continue to excite and surprise--is a tribute to the unique functions they perform for American political parties. They serve five major functions for parties. Presidential and vice-presidential candidates are nominated. The conventions write platforms presenting the party positions on major issues. Conventions determine procedures and policies the parties will follow before the next convention. Conventions are gigantic campaign rallies. The attacks on the opposition set the tone for the fall campaign and the excitement surrounding the convention helps to heal wounds that may have been opened during the divisive struggle over the nomination. Finally, conventions serve as forums where interest groups can present their issues of concern.

Although the functions and mechanics of Republican and Democratic conventions are similar, their tone and tenor can vary dramatically. Delegates to Republican conventions tend to reflect the party's electoral base: people who are wealthier and better educated, occupy managerial or professional positions or run small businesses. Recent Republican conventions have been quieter, more deliberative gatherings than those of the Democrats (notable exceptions being the conservative-moderate battles between Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller in 1964 and Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford in 1976). Democratic conventions, reflecting the diverse, oftentimes antagonistic interest groups that come under the majority party's umbrella, have tended to be noisy, divisive, bitterly fought affairs.

Mechanics

Delegates arrive at the convention having been selected in a bewildering variety of ways: through binding primaries, state party caucuses and conventions or by appointment. In recent conventions, as many as three-quarters of the delegates have been selected through primaries which require them to remain bound to a particular candidate. This has led to criticisms that delegates are little more than "programmed robots" with little real power at the convention. This year the Democrats have increased the flexibility of delegates by repealing a controversial 1980 rule that forced delegates to vote for their original presidential preference on the first convention ballot.

If a front runner arrives at the convention with the nomination sewed up or if an incumbent president is expected to be renominated without a challenge, delegates do little except concentrate on having a good time and putting the party's best foot forward. Such conventions take on the air of a coronation. At the 1972 Republican convention, the renomination of Richard Nixon was so carefully orchestrated and programmed that every minute of the convention ran according to a prepared script.

If, however, the nomination is tightly contested and no candidate has a clear lead, the delegates and the candidates plunge into a frenzy of activity: the candidates attempt to control the delegations pledged to them while winning over unpledged or wavering delegates; the delegates caucus in hotel room sand on the convention floor, wheeling and dealing away their support.

Because conventions are such huge, potentially unruly gatherings (there will be nearly 4,000 delegates at this year's Democratic convention and slightly fewer at the GOP gathering), candidate organizations are run like military machines. Political scientist F. C. Atherton describes the convention operation run by Gerald Ford in 1976: "The convention floor was divided into zones each coordinated by a floor leader wearing a red hat for easy visual identification... "Each floor leader had phones tied to the Ford trailer [and] into the delegations through assistants responsible for the states... Wavering delegates might be contacted by operatives from the floor, by a designated Ford 'delegation monitor' or by a backup system of eight 'floaters' roving the floor... The Ford committee went so far in their preparations as to have repairmen standing by to replace sabotaged phone lines."

Only on rare occasions does the nomination battle last until the actual balloting for president (not since 1952 has a convention of either party taken more than one ballot to select a nominee). Usually, the side without enough votes for the nomination tries to establish a test vote on an issue prior to the balloting in the hope that, somehow, this will change the chemistry or alter the atmosphere of the convention. This test vote, which is usually decisive in determining the eventual nominee, can occur during a debate over the seating of a delegation, over a convention rule, or over a controversial plank in the party platform.

A classic example of this occurred during the 1972 Democratic convention. George McGovern entered the convention with a bare majority of delegate votes. McGovern's opponents (known as the ABM movement--Anybody but McGovern) attempted a last-ditch effort to deny McGovern the nomination by challenging the seating of the pro-McGovern California delegation. McGovern won the challenge through ingenious parliamentary maneuvering and went on to clinch the nomination.

Similar make-or-break votes arose at the 1976 Republican convention, where Ronald Reagan tried to force Gerald Ford to name his vice presidential candidate in advance of the balloting, and at the 1980 Democratic convention, where Ted Kennedy attempted to force the convention to free delegates pledged to Jimmy Carter. In both cases Ford and Carter won the vote and the nomination.

Once the presidential nominee is chosen, the convention has one big job left: nominating a vice presidential candidate. While in theory the delegates make the choice, customarily the presidential nominee is allowed to select his own running mate. Traditionally, the vice presidential candidate is someone who can "balance the ticket." For example the two candidates may come from different geographic parts of the country. A southerner may be picked to run with a Northerner or an urban candidate from a big populous state may be matched with someone from a small rural state. Political considerations can also be decisive. Ronald Reagan picked George Bush as his running mate largely to appease moderate factions in the Republican party. Jimmy Carter chose Walter Mondale to reassure traditional Democratic liberals. While ticket balancing remains a paramount consideration in choosing a vice presidential nominee, recent presidential candidates have been giving more consideration to a nominee's actual qualifications for the office and whether he or she could assume the duties of the presidency. Tom Eagleton's resignation from the Democratic ticket in 1972 following his hurried selection by George McGovern prompted presidential candidates to take more time and care in selecting their running mate. Jimmy Carter, for example, conducted extensive pre-convention interviews with prospective running mates before selecting Mondale.

Creating Party Unity

After the dust settles and the presidential and vice presidential nominees are selected, the party tries to bring together the various candidates and party factions that have confronted each other during the long primary campaign and the heated days of the convention. Sometimes the victorious candidate will make concessions to the loser on the party platform. Or the winner may select a party chairman or vice presidential candidate favored by the loser. Typically the presidential nominee will use his acceptance speech to mount a call for party unity. Major party figures will troop onto the stage as the convention comes to a close to pledge their support in the upcoming campaign.

Sometimes, however, the calls for party unity just don't come off; personal feelings may run too high and political wounds cut too deep. In 1972, George McGovern quickly found out that his convention triumph was a Pyrrhic victory. Important factions and figures in the Democratic party refused to support McGovern in the general election. In 1980, the bitter feud between Ted Kennedy and Jimmy Carter was never papered over, hurting Carter in his campaign against Ronald Reagan.

If present trends continue, the 1984 Republican convention will probably exhibit a high degree of party unity. The Republicans may, in fact, hold a love-in to rival that of Richard Nixon's 1972 renomination.

The Democrats, on the other hand, seem to have all the elements in hand to guarantee another divisive convention free-for-all. If so, the Democrats may have a hard time rallying the party faithful for the general election battle.

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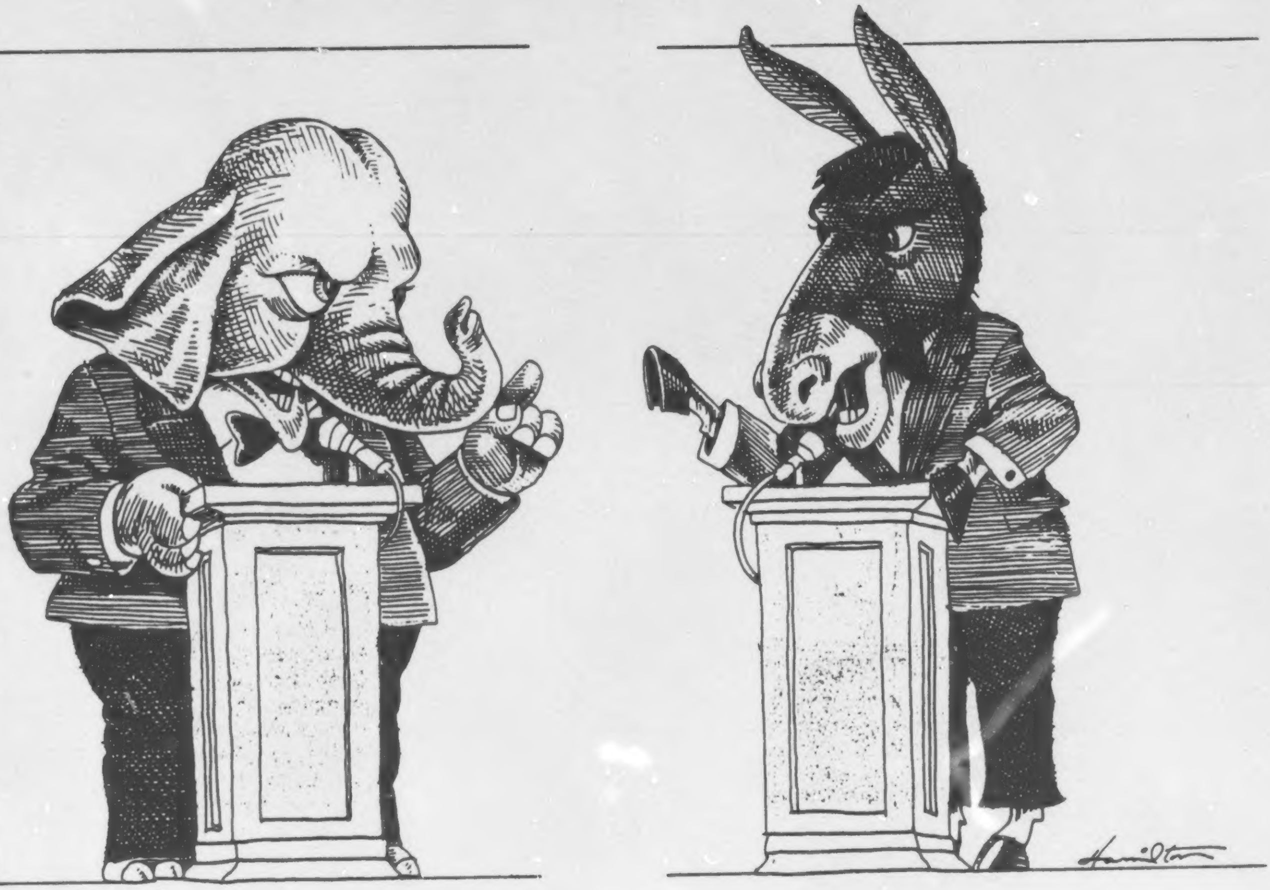

Agenda of National Nominating Conventions

First Day

Opening ceremonies–(prayer, Pledge of Allegiance, National Anthem)
Welcoming speeches–(governor of host state and mayor of host city)
Treasurer's report–(treasurer of the national committee)
Chairman's report–(chairman of the national committee)
Keynote address

Second Day

Opening ceremonies
Credentials Committee report
Rules Committee report
Platform Committee report

Third Day

Opening ceremonies
Nominations for presidential candidates
Roll call for presidential nomination

Fourth Day

Opening ceremonies
Nominations of vice presidential candidates
Roll call for vice presidential nomination
Acceptance speeches
  Vice presidential nominee
  Presidential nominee
Adjournment

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PARTY STRUCTURE

Michigan political parties are organized on the principle of "grassroots" participation, meaning the party members are the source of strength and power as indicated in the following chart.

Precinct Delegates. The key to member participation in the party is the precinct delegate, the citizen's voice in the party and the neighborhood representative to the county or district conventions. Party precinct delegates are elected by direct vote at the fall primary in non-presidential years, and in either the August primary or the presidential primary in presidential election years. Each party determines its number of delegates in each voting precinct.

Any registered voter may run for election as a precinct delegate by filing a nominating petition with the county clerk by 4:00 p.m. on the 70th day before the fall election, or by 4:00 p.m. on the fourth Friday in March for the presidential primary. The petition must contain at least 15 but no more than 20 signatures of registered voters in that precinct. Only three votes are required to be elected. It is permissible to "write-in" the name of a candidate for precinct delegate, even if that person has not filed a nominating petition. Precinct delegates, who serve a 2-year term without pay, attend county conventions (congressional district conventions in more populous areas) to select delegates to the party's state convention.

State Party conventions are held each year to carry out their responsibilities according to law:

Meeting Time	Purpose
Fall of even-numbered non-presidential election years	Nominate party candidates for lt. governor, secretary of state, attorney general, supreme court justices, members of education boards.

Fall of presidential election years	Choose delegates to national convention who adopt a national party platform and nominate candidates for president and vice president. (Method of delegate selection determined by by party rules; number determined by party's national committee.)
	Choose electors of the president and vice president of the U.S.*
Spring of odd-numbered years	Elect a state central committee and other party officers.

* This is because the U. S. Constitution provides for the election of the president and vice president by the Electoral College, not by direct vote of the people. When we vote for president (and vice president) we are actually voting for the slate of presidential electors chosen by the candidates' party at a state convention several weeks before the presidential election. The winning slate of electors cast their votes for the nominees of their party at the state Capitol in December. Results are sent to Congress.

From The State We're In, League of Women Voters of Michigan

BOARD OF STATE CANVASSERS

The legislature is required by the constitution to provide for a Board of State Canvassers, composed of four members with no more than two from the same political party. Appointments are made by the governor and members serve 4-year terms.

The board is responsible for canvassing (examining and validating) nominating petitions of candidates for and certifying elections results of the following:

Electors for president and vice president of the U.S.
State officers
U.S. senators and representatives
Circuit judges
State senators and representatives, if in districts larger than a county
Others referred to them by law

The Board of State Canvassers is also responsible for reviewing signatures on citizen initiatory petitions for proposed constitutional amendments. It determines whether a petition meets the requirements of law as to form and number of valid signatures. The board also certifies whether proposed constitutional amendments brought by initiatory petition may be placed on the ballot and approves the official ballot wording for the amendment, or other ballot issues.

From The State We're In, League of Women Voters of Michigan.

WHO PAYS FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS?

Most campaign funds of candidates for Federal office are raised from private contributions by individuals and groups. Individuals are limited to contributions of $1,000 to any candidate per election, and interest groups--in the form of multicandidate/political action committees (PACs)--may contribute up to $5,000 per candidate per election. The Federal Government provides incentives for individuals to make political contributions by allowing them to take a tax credit of half the amount of such donations (up to $50 for an individual, or $100 on joint tax returns).

Since 1976, candidates for President have been given the option of accepting public funding for their campaigns. During the primary election season, funds from the U.S. Treasury are payable to candidates on a basis which matches small, privately-raised contributions. Major political parties are eligible to receive a flat grant from the Government to finance their nominating conventions, and their nominees are eligible for a much larger stipend for their general election campaigns. Provisions exist in the law for third party or new party candidates to be eligible for public funding on a proportional or retroactive basis.

Public funding is not available to candidates for Congress.

What Federal laws regulate political campaign financing?

Until 1972, the Corrupt Practices Acts regulated spending in Federal elections, but only for general and special elections. Since the passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971 and its subsequent amendments in 1974, 1976, and 1979, there has been much greater regulation of the Federal electoral process-primary, general, and special elections, caucuses, and conventions.

The FECA and its amendments established strict reporting requirements for all candidates for Federal office, their campaign committees and others spending money to influence Federal elections. Contributions are limited, but, in general, expenditures are not. Furthermore, full, though optional, public financing is provided for major party Presidential candidates in the general election and major party national nominating conventions, and matching public funding is provided in Presidential primary elections. Minor party Presidential candidates may receive partial public funding in the general election. Expenditures by candidates accepting Federal funds are limited, as are the personal funds such a candidate may spend on his or her own campaign.

An independent Federal Election Commission is the principal enforcement agency, with primary civil jurisdiction and investigatory authority in criminal cases. It also has the power to prescribe regulations to implement and clarify campaign laws, to issue advisory opinions which offer guidance in complying with the law, and to disseminate information to candidates and to the public.

The income tax laws permit political contributions to be credited against tax owed to the Federal Government. Taxpayers may take a tax credit of half the amount contributed--up to $100 on a joint return and $50 on any other return.

What are "matching funds" and "public funds," and who may qualify to receive them?

The Federal election campaign laws provide for a system of public funding for Presidential elections, available on an optional basis to candidates who agree to abide by the contribution and expenditure limits imposed by the law. Primary election campaigns are funded through the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account and general election campaigns are funded through the

Presidential Election Campaign Fund; these accounts are funded by taxpayers who take the option of earmarking one dollar of their tax liability for this purpose.

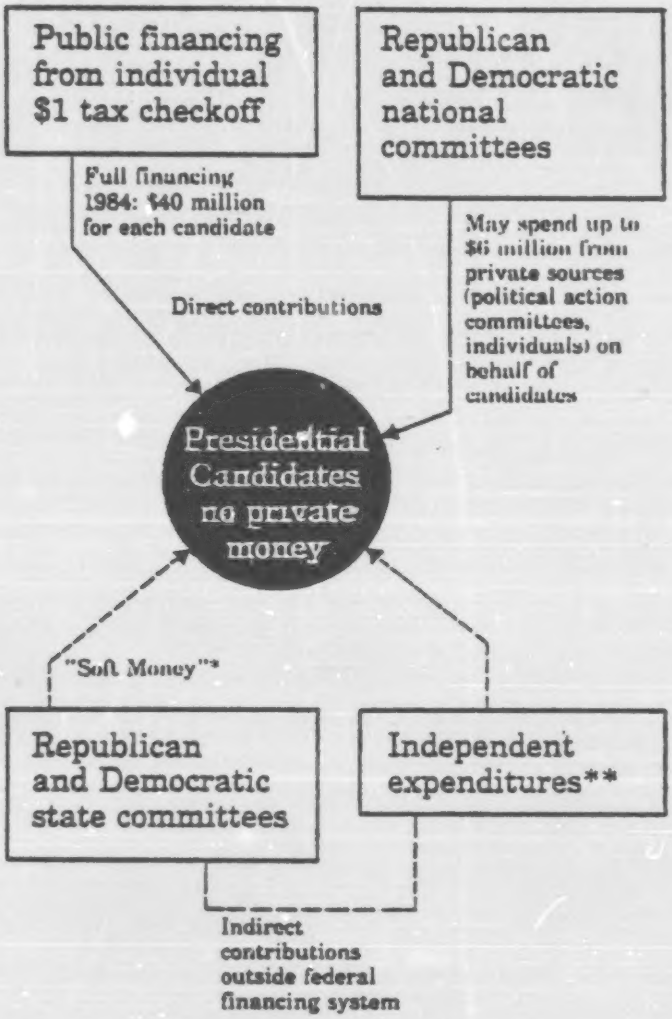
A primary election candidate may be eligible for matching funds once he raises $5,000, in donations of $250 or less, in each of 20 States. Thereafter, the fund matches each contribution of $250 or less until the total amount of public funds equals 50 percent of the candidate's primary expenditure limit. By requiring that private funds be raised in the primaries, the law seeks to insure that only serious candidates (i.e. - those able to attract private contributors) may receive public funds.

In the general election, the nominees for President and Vice President of the two major parties are automatically eligible for a flat stipend from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. In 1980, Carter and Reagan each received $29.4 million in the general election, but this figure is raised every 4 years according to the cost-of-living increase. No private contributions may be accepted by major party candidates who receive public funds in the general election, except for a specified amount from the national committees of their respective political parties. Third party candidates may receive public funds in an amount proportionate to the votes received by that party in the previous Presidential election, and new party candidates may be eligible for retroactive public funds after the election, if they receive at least 5 percent of the popular votes cast.

From Our American Government, House Document No. 96-351. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1981

Where the Money Comes From: Financing of the Presidential General Election

Contributors:


Public financing from individual $1 tax checkoff
Full financing 1984: $40 million for each candidate
Republican and Democratic national committees
May spend up to $6 million from private sources (political action committees, individuals) on behalf of candidates
Direct contributions
Presidential Candidates no private money
"Soft Money"*
Republican and Democratic state committees
Independent expenditures**
Indirect contributions outside federal financing system

*Large amounts of money, often outside federal regulation, used for such indirect expenses as telephone banks, get-out-the-vote drives; a new untested form of financing.

**Made without candidate's cooperation for communications – often television – to advocate election or defeat of a candidate. Usually made by a political action committee.

Source: Gail McCrory – The Washington Post (adapted)

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Newsweek
From 1984 Presidential Election Handbook

CAMPAIGN MONEY--ARE THERE STRINGS ATTACHED?

Ask the class to discuss this dilemma.

> Mrs. Upright is running for Congress. Her opponent is running an aggressive campaign with lots of money to pay for TV and radio time. A good deal of the opponent's money comes from special interest groups expecting favors. Mrs. Upright's advisers tell her she must get more money for her campaign. She is offered large contributions by a business organization and agricultural organization. Both have made it clear that they expect her to support their interests. She is not sure that she should. Should Mrs. Upright accept these contributions?

The class may consider such questions as these. 1) Should it make any difference to Mrs. Upright that her opponent has accepted money from special interest groups? 2) Individual contributors to a political campaign ordinarily do so because they prefer that candidate or party. Is there anything different about the two organizations' contributions to Mrs. Upright? 3) Will Mrs. Upright be dishonest if she accepts the two organizations' contributions but later fails to support their interests? 4) To whom should Mrs. Upright owe her loyalty, her constituents in general or special interest groups which contribute money?

All candidates must file a financial report. Copies of the form to be used is available from the Secretary of State's office, and for local races, from the Election Board. Summaries of the reports usually appear in newspapers.

Students can research these and discuss their findings.

Also, they can obtain copies of the campaign finance reports and compare the spending to the election outcome.

Local candidates may be willing to come to the school and discuss with students how they decide what to spend money on.

BULLETIN

Department of State

Richard H. Austin
Secretary of State

Campaign Finance Reporting

Volume 8, Issue 3

May, 1984

P.O. Box 20126
Lansing, MI 48901
Phone: (517) 373-8558

ATTENTION ALL CANDIDATES

The Campaign Finance Act provides for the public disclosure of receipts and expenditures related to election campaigns.

The Act requires that all candidates form and register candidate committees and file certain reports.

You become a "candidate" when you:

- file nominating petitions,
- pay a filing fee,
- spend or receive any money toward your nomination or election (including your own funds) or authorize someone else to do so, or
- are nominated by a party caucus or convention.

The first required filing is a Statement of Organization. This is due 10 days after a candidate committee is formed (a candidate committee must be formed within 10 days after you become a candidate). The Statement of Organization gives information such as the committee name, address, treasurer and depository for committee funds.

Closer to the election, all committees must file financial reports. These reports (Campaign Statements) are due 11 days before and 30 days after each election in which your name appears on the ballot. A Campaign Statement reports all receipts and expenditures that take place during a specified period of time.

Candidates for State Representative, State Senate, other statewide offices and judicial offices must file their reports with Campaign Finance Reporting in Lansing. Local candidates file with the clerk of their county of residence.

CAMPAIGN STATEMENT FILING DATES

State Primary	**July 22**	Closing of books for Pre-Primary reporting period.
	July 27	Deadline for filing Pre-Primary Campaign Statement.
	August 7	**STATE PRIMARY ELECTION**
	August 27	Closing of books for Post-Primary reporting period.
	September 6	Deadling for filing Post-Primary Campaign Statement.
State General	**October 21**	Closing of books for Pre-General reporting period.
	October 26	Deadline for filing Pre-General Campaign Statement.
	November 6	**STATE GENERAL ELECTION**
	November 26	Closing of books for Post-General reporting period.
	December 6	Deadline for filing Post-General Campaign Statement.

AVOID LATE FILING FEES

File on Time!

Late filing fees are assessed whenever a required filing is not made on time. These late filing fees, however, may be avoided by simply knowing your filing obligations and filing on time.

An original Statement of Organization must be filed within 10 days of the committee organizational date shown on the form. If any information shown on the form changes, an amendment must be filed within 10 days of the effective date of the change.

Campaign Statements must be filed 11 days before and 30 days after each election in which the committee participates. Ballot Question Committees supporting or opposing a statewide ballot question are also required to file a Post-Qualification Campaign Statement 35 days after the question qualifies or fails to qualify for the ballot. In addition, most committees must file an Annual Campaign Statement on January 31 of each year.

A Statement of Organization or Campaign Statement is considered "filed" when it is **received** by the filing official. A report mailed on the due date will always be assessed a late filing fee. To insure timely filings, the Campaign Finance Act includes a provision that allows a filing sent registered or certified mail 2 or more days before the due date to be considered timely regardless of the date received.

If you have any questions about your filing obligations, always contact your filing official.

BALLOT QUESTION COMMITTEES

Ballot question committees supporting or opposing a statewide question are required to file either a Post-Qualification or Non-Qualification Campaign Statement.

If the question qualifies for the ballot, all committees involved must file Post-Qualification Campaign Statements. This report closes 28 days after the question qualifies and is due 35 days after.

If the question fails to qualify, Non-Qualification Campaign Statements must be filed. If no petitions are filed, the report closes 28 days after the last possible date to file petitions and is due 35 days after. If petitions are filed but rejected, the non-qualification date to be used is the date the State Board of Canvassers indicates that the question has failed to qualify.

WITHDRAWN CANDIDATES

A person who files petitions or pays a filing fee in order to be on the ballot but who later withdraws during the statutory period to do so is not a "candidate" unless money is received or spent. Since the person's name will not appear on the ballot, he or she is not required to register or file financial reports.

A person who simply withdraws from active campaigning or who spends or receives no money for his or her campaign but whose name still appears on the ballot must file a Statement of Organization and all applicable Campaign Statements.

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITY

Individuals can assist Candidate Committees in a number of ways without their activity counting as a "contribution" to the committee. This means that the committee is under no obligation to disclose the activity on Campaign Statements. The Campaign Finance Act exempts certain activities from the contribution definition to encourage volunteer participation in the political process.

Note that these provisions also extend to candidates working on behalf of their own Candidates Committees.

Volunteer Personal Services: An individual can volunteer their personal services to a Candidate Committee as long as compensation is not received for the time donated. Once an individual receives compensation for their services their activity no longer falls under this provision and the committee must report the compensation given as an expenditure or as an in-kind contribution if paid by a third party.

Examples of volunteer personal services that would not count as a contribution would include answering phones for a committee, distributing campaign material for a committee, or helping at a fund raising event.

Note that if an individual is being paid by an employer while working for a campaign — the individual's activity **must** be reported as an in-kind contribution by the committee receiving the person's services. However, a person using bona fide vacation time is not making a contribution to the committee.

Travel: An individual working on behalf of a committee can spend up to $250 in a calendar year for personal travel expense (gas, food, lodging) without this being a "contribution" to the committee. As long as these costs are voluntarily incurred by the individual without any understanding or agreement that the cost will be repaid the travel expenses do not have to be reported by the committee. Once an individual's travel expenses reach or exceed $250 in a calendar year the committee must begin reporting future expenses as in-kind contributions.

Food and Beverages: An individual can donate up to $50 worth of food and beverages during a calendar year without this being a "contribution" to the committee. As long as the food and beverages are voluntarily donated by an individual without any understanding or agreement that the cost will be repaid, the food and beverages do not have to be reported by the committee.

Once the value of the food and beverages donated by an individual exceeds $50 in a calendar year, the committee must report future donations of food and beverages as in-kind contributions.

ADVISE YOUR CONTRIBUTORS

Any business, group or organization that contributes $200.00 or more in a calendar year to or on behalf of candidates or ballot questions in Michigan becomes a "committee" under the Campaign Finance Act. The "committee" must comply with the Act by filing a Statement of Organization and any applicable Campaign Statements.

If you receive a contribution from someone you believe may meet this "committee" definition, please advise them of their obligation to file. The Statement of Organization is due 10 days after they receive or spend the $200.00. Campaign Statements are due 11 days before and 30 days after each election in which the committee participates (a committee participates in an election by making an expenditure to or on behalf of a candidate or issue on that particular ballot). Late filing fees are assessed for any filing not received by the due date.

Partnership Contributions

A contribution made from a partnership account that is charged back to the individual, unincorporated partners should be reported as being from the individuals. The partnership should provide you with this information when making the contribution.

If contributions are not designated as being from the individual partners, the partnership will become a "committee" once it receives or spends $200.00 in a calendar year to influence elections.

SPECIAL ELECTIONS SET

Special elections have been set to fill vacancies in the 20th and 21st State Representative districts.

All candidate, independent, political and political party committees that participate in the elections must file the applicable pre- and post-election reports.

For the special primary, use the following schedule:

May 20	Closing of books for Pre-Primary reporting period.
May 25	Deadline for filing Pre-Primary Campaign Statement.
June 5	Primary Election
June 25	Closing of books for Post-Primary reporting period.
July 5	Deadline for filing Post-Primary Campaign Statement.

The special general falls on the same date as the state primary election, so the filing dates shown on page 1 should be used.

Failure to file a required report by the due date will result in the assessment of late filing fees.

NOTE: If your committee participates in this and the June 11 School Election or any other special election around that time, one or more reports may be waived. Contact your filing official for specific information.

PROHIBITED ACTIVITY

The Campaign Finance Act contains a number of prohibitions concerning what contributions may be accepted and what expenditures may be made with regard to election campaigns.

Prohibited contributions include:

- Cash contributions of $20.01 or more from a person.
- Contributions from one candidate committee to another candidate committee. NOTE: Officeholder expense funds may be used to purchase tickets to another candidate's fundraiser.
- Contributions which exceed statutory contribution limitations.
- Contributions from any corporate entity, including professional and non-profit corporations. This does not apply to Ballot Question Committees, which are allowed to accept corporate funds.

Prohibited expenditures include:

- Expenditures from one candidate committee to another candidate committee. This does not include expenditures for strictly business transactions such as the purchase of supplies or materials from another committee or any joint fundraising or advertising activity.
- Expenditures by a ballot question committee to or on behalf of a candidate committee.
- Expenditures which exceed statutory contribution limitations.
- Cash expenditures of $50.01 or more for any purpose.
- Cash expenditures in any amount for the payment of salaries and wages.

MAILING INFORMATION

All mailings from filing officials are sent to a committee's mailing address if one is given, otherwise to the committee street address.

The committee mailing address should be either that of a committee headquarters or of the treasurer or other officer of the committee who is responsible for keeping abreast of filing obligations. It is important that mail be received in a timely manner.

A post office box may be used as a committee mailing address, but be sure that mail sent to that box is picked up promptly.

If you wish to change your current committee street and/or mailing address you must file an amended Statement of Organization. Forms are available through your filing official.

CFR SEMINARS SCHEDULED

The Campaign Finance Reporting office will be holding informational seminars throughout the state for candidates and other interested persons.

Members of the Campaign Finance Reporting staff will have a short presentation and be available to answer questions. All new candidates and other types of committees are especially urged to attend the seminar in their area.

The seminars, each of which will begin at 7:00 p.m., will be held at the following locations:

Monday, June 11	**Sandusky** County Conference Room 37 Austin Street
	Baldwin Courtroom, Lake County Courthouse
Tuesday, June 12	**Traverse City** Cafeteria, Lower Level Government Center 400 Boardman Avenue
	Ithaca Circuit Courtroom Gratiot County Courthouse Center Street
Wednesday, June 13	**Grand Rapids** County Administration Bldg., Room 315 300 Monroe, NW
	Adrian Lenawee Vocational-Technical Center Classroom #3 2345 N. Adrian Hwy.
Thursday, June 14	**Bay City** Commission Chambers Bay County Courthouse Center and Madison
Monday, June 18	**Lansing** Mutual Building, Room 124 208 N. Capitol Avenue
	Alpena Large Courtroom Alpena County Courthouse 720 Chisolm Street
Tuesday, June 19	**Kalamazoo** Board Chambers Kalamazoo County Administration Building 201 W. Kalamazoo Avenue
	St. Ignace Courtroom, Mackinac County Courthouse
Wednesday, June 20	**Roscommon** Lower Level Roscommon County Courthouse 504 Lake Street
	Escanaba Circuit Courtroom 310 Ludington Street
Thursday, June 21	**L'Anse** Courtroom, Baraga County Courthouse

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MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Campaign Finance Reporting
P.O. Box 20126
Lansing, MI 48901

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THE CAMPAIGN FINANCING LAW

(P.A. No. 388 of 1976)

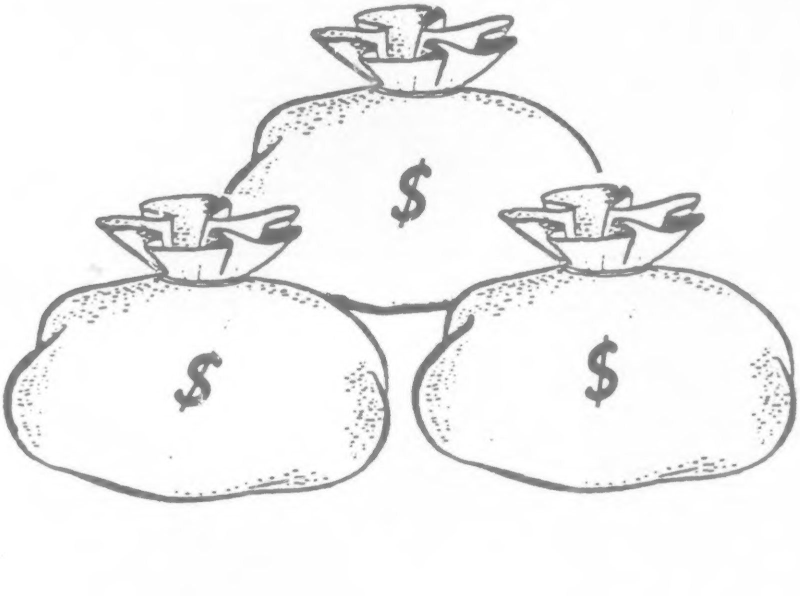
Since January 1, 1977, Michigan has had a law to regulate the financing of political campaigns. The campaign finance law applies to candidates for political office at all levels of government, and to committees formed to take action on ballot questions. It details how candidate and ballot question committees are to be formed, how records of contributions and expenditures are to be kept, what restrictions are imposed, and where and when financial reports are to be made. Financial reports are open to public inspection. Although limits on the amounts individuals may contribute to a candidate are included in the law, the major thrust of the legislation is to require public disclosure by every political candidate of the sources and amounts of campaign contributions and how the contributions are spent. Preliminary reports are required before elections so that voters may be aware of a candidate's financial backers before casting their votes. Final reports must also be filed after an election.

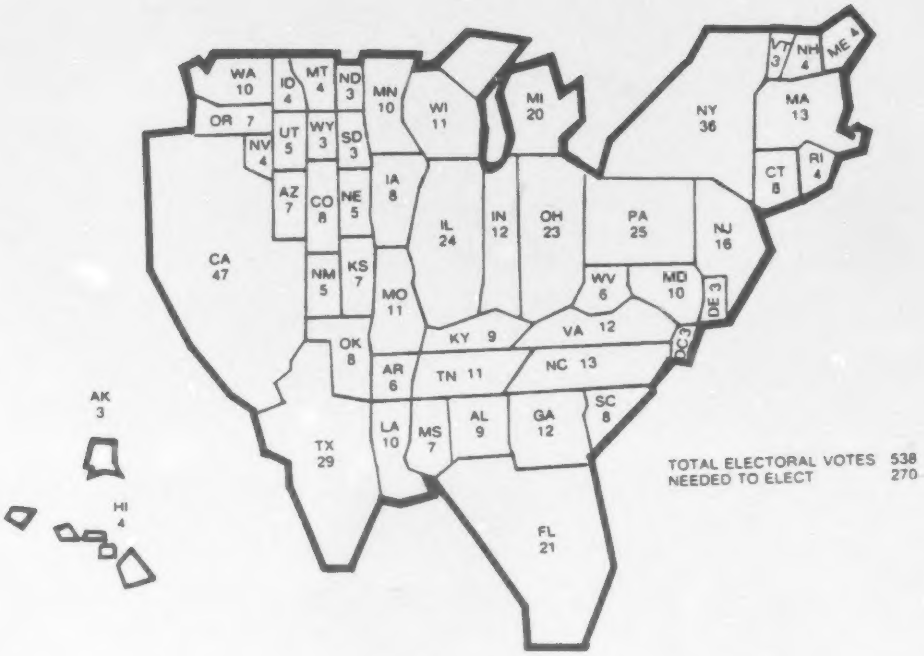
An important provision of the campaign finance act is the establishment of a state campaign fund to provide public support for candidates for the office of governor. When filing a state income tax return, a citizen may designate that $2.00 be contributed to the fund, or $4.00 in the case of joint returns. The check-off on the income tax return does not increase an individual's tax, but simply diverts $2.00 per person, with the taxpayer's approval, to the special fund. A similar check-off for public funding of presidential campaigns is allowed on the federal income tax return.

Under the state law, gubernatorial candidates are eligible for public funding if they can raise at least $50,000 in contributions of $100 or less. Once they qualify they may receive $2.00 for every $1.00 they collect in contributions of $100 or less. A major party candidate in a contested primary election may receive up to $660,000 in public funds; a candidate in an uncontested primary may receive only up to $165,000. Expenditures for any candidate for governor cannot exceed $1 million for one election, and a candidate cannot receive more than 66 percent of this limit from the campaign fund. Individual contributions to a candidate are limited to $1,700 per person in a single election, and independent committees may contribute up to $17,000. A political party cannot contribute more than 25 percent of a candidate's expenditure limit.

A major purpose of the campaign fund is to minimize the influence of large contributions and to require candidates to demonstrate broad public support if they wish to run for governor.

From The State We're In, League of Women Voters of Michigan

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CT 8
RI 4
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AZ 7
CO 8
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IN 12
OH 23
PA 25
NJ 16
NM 5
KS 7
MO 11
WV 6
MD 10
DE 3
KY 9
VA 12
DC 3
OK 8
AR 6
TN 11
NC 13
AK 3
TX 29
LA 10
MS 7
AL 9
GA 12
SC 8
HI 4
FL 21

TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTES 538
NEEDED TO ELECT 270

HOW TO UNDERSTAND THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

When Americans vote in presidential general elections, they cast a ballot for a slate of presidential electors who are pledged to support the candidate the voter prefers. About six weeks after the presidential election is over, the 538 members of the electoral college meet in their respective states to perform their sole constitutional function: to elect the president and vice-president of the United States.

Electors almost always vote for the candidates for whom they have been pledged. The Constitution, however, does not bind them to do so, and in fact an independent elector is what the framers of the Constitution had in mind when they designed the college. Up to now, the vote of a faithless elector has never changed the outcome of an election, but concern about this possibility has led one-third of the states to enact laws binding electors. A presidential or vice-presidential candidate must receive a majority of the electoral votes--at least 270--to be elected. If no candidate receives an absolute majority, the House of Representatives elects the President and the Senate elects the Vice-President.

The Electoral College system has been the subject of controversy and there have been numerous attempts to change it. Amendments to the Constitution to elect the president by direct popular vote have been introduced in the Senate over 60 times, but none received the required two-thirds vote to send it to the state legislatures for ratification.

The electoral college system allows the election of a President who has not won the popular vote. In 1888, Grover Cleveland received 48.7 percent of the popular vote to Benjamin Harrison's 47.9 percent, but Harrison carried New York and therefore outpolled Cleveland by 233 to 168 in the electoral college.

The number of electoral votes is not proportional to the popular vote because of the winner-take-all feature of the college's state-based system. In every state except Maine, losing candidates, whether they get two million or two votes, get no electors. That is why election results by state are so important when following a presidential election.

The number of electors for each state is determined by the number of representatives and senators allotted to that state. The District of Columbia has three electors. The number of representatives depends on population as recalculated every ten years by the Census Bureau. As the states in the North and Midwest lose population to the Sunbelt, they will have proportionately less representation in the electoral college as well as in the Congress. See the map for the number of electors from each state for the 1984 election.

Suggested activities:

- Find the basis for the electoral college in the constitution (Article I, Section 2). See also the Twelfth, Twentieth and Twenty-third Amendments.

- Discuss the pros and cons for the electoral college system. What effect does it have on minor party or independent presidential candidates?

- Use the map to follow election results. Note how electoral votes are used by the media to predict election results based on comparatively few votes actually cast.

From How to do it, League of Women Voters. Published by National Council for the Social Studies.

What is the Electoral College? What is its role in the election of the President and Vice President of the United States?

The President and Vice President of the United States are actually elected by electors, chosen in the November general election, who meet on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December to vote, separately, for President and Vice President.

Each State chooses, in a manner determined by its Legislature, a number of electors equal to the total of its Senators and Representatives in the United States Congress. The District of Columbia, under the 23rd amendment, chooses a number equal to the number chosen by the least populous State. The total membership of the Electoral College is 538, and the votes of 270, or a majority, are necessary in order for an individual to be elected President or Vice President by the Electoral College.

All 51 jurisdictions provide that Presidential electors be elected by popular vote. All but three States provide for winner-take-all, at-large elections. The modern Electoral College almost always reflects the preelection pledges of its members and does not, as the Founding Fathers anticipated, make independent judgments concerning who should be elected President and Vice President. In six of the past nine elections, however, one elector has exercised his right to independent judgment and cast his electoral vote for someone other than the person to whom he was pledged.

The Electoral College never meet as one body, but in 51 smaller electoral colleges, in the State capitals and the District of Columbia, to cast their electoral votes. They vote separately for President and for Vice President, but since they are almost always chosen by their political parties for their party loyalty and responsibility, the result of their voting can be predicted as soon as the results of the November general election are known.

Once the electors have voted and the results have been certified by the Governor of each State, the results are sent to Washington to be counted before a joint session of the newly-elected Congress, meeting the first week in January. If no candidate for President or Vice President has received a majority, the House, voting by States, elects the President, and the Senate, voting as individuals, elects the Vice President.

Did the Electoral College ever vote unanimously for any President?

Yes, two times for George Washington, for the terms beginning in 1789 and 1793. In the Electoral College vote in 1820, all the electors except one voted to re-elect James Monroe. That one elector, William Plumer of New Hampshire, voted for John Quincy Adams in spite a preelection pledge to support Monroe. Plumer's motives were apparently a combination of his wish to call attention to his friend Adams, his desire to preserve George Washington's distinction as the only President elected unanimously, and his dissatisfaction with Monroe's performance as President.

From Our American Government, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1981.

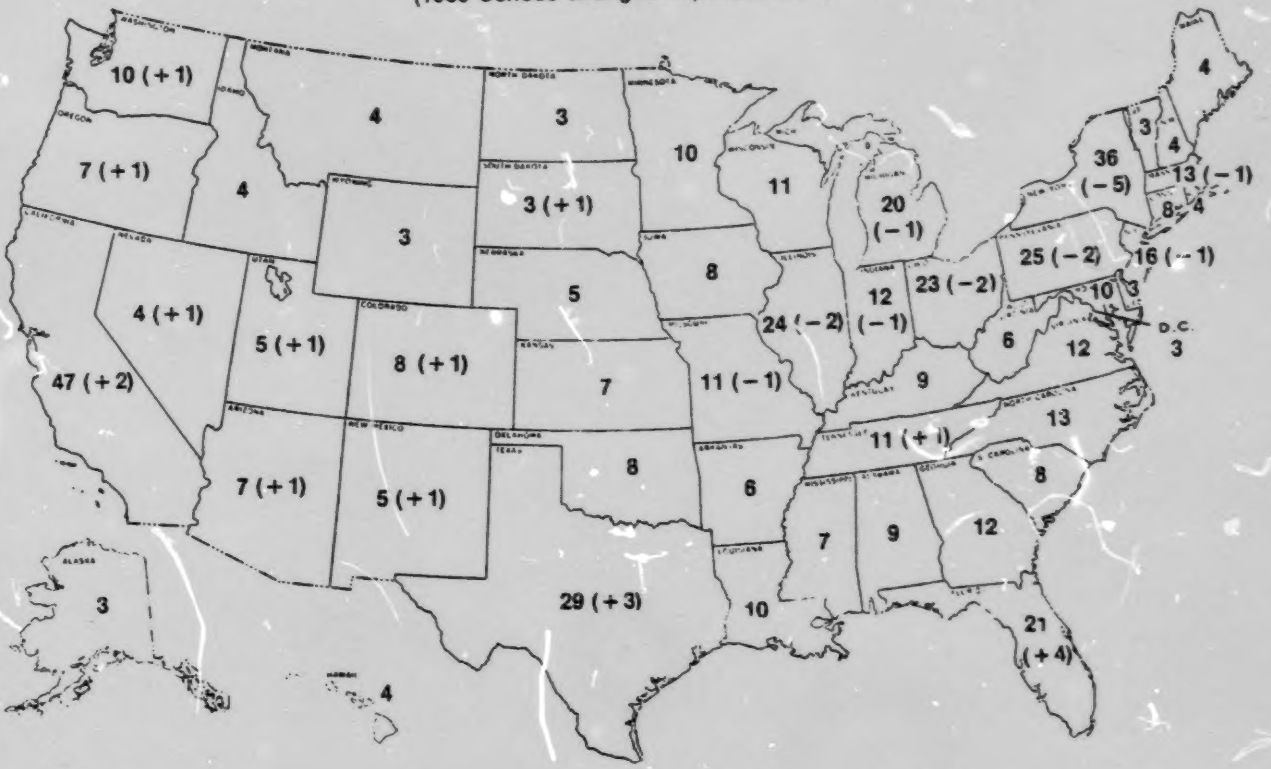
ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATE

Using that section of a government textbook on presidential elections, and the presentation of Electoral Votes by States, answer the following questions.

1. What is the total of electoral votes in the electoral college?
2. How is the electoral vote for each state determined? How many electoral votes does your state have?
3. How is the population of each state related to the number of electors for each state?
4. How many electoral votes are needed by one candidate to win an election? What percent of the total does that represent? What happens if no candidate receives the needed amount?
5. What determines which candidate receives all the electoral votes from each state?
6. What is the fewest number of states needed to win an election? What are they?
7. Is it possible to win the popular vote but lose the election? If so, how?

Electoral Votes by State

(1980 Census changes in parentheses)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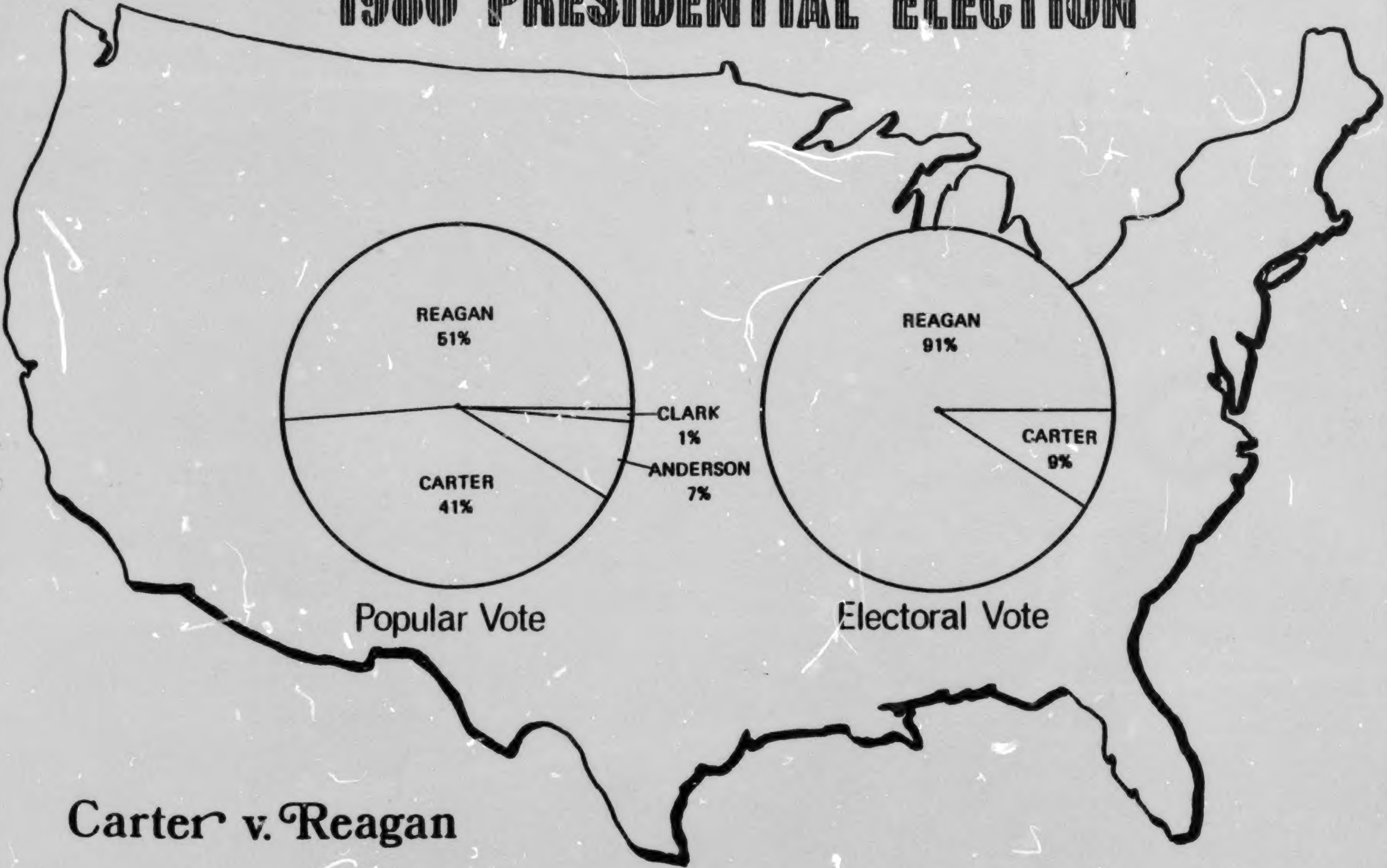
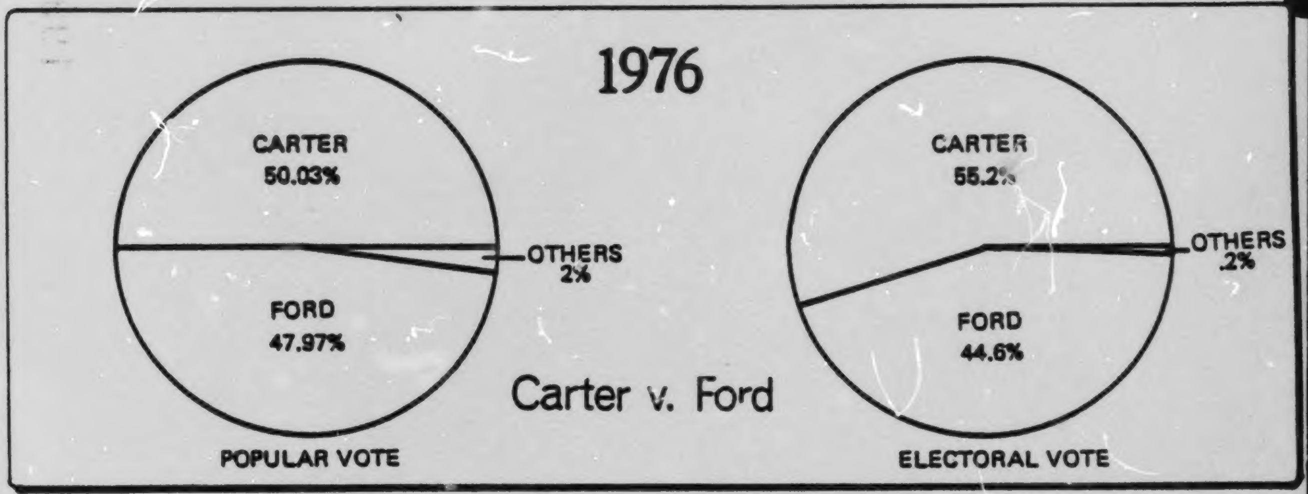
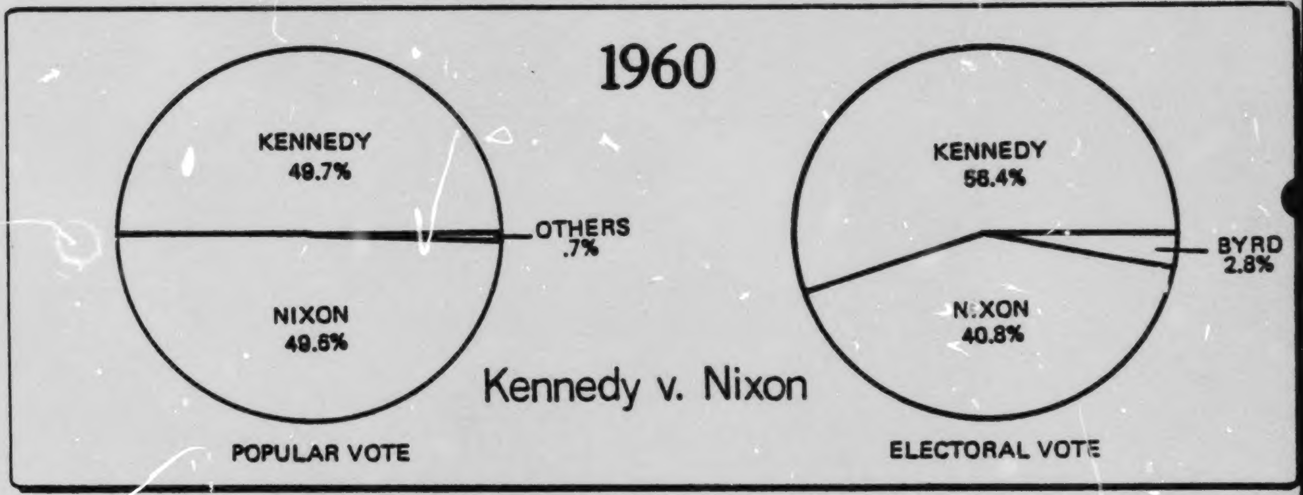
1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

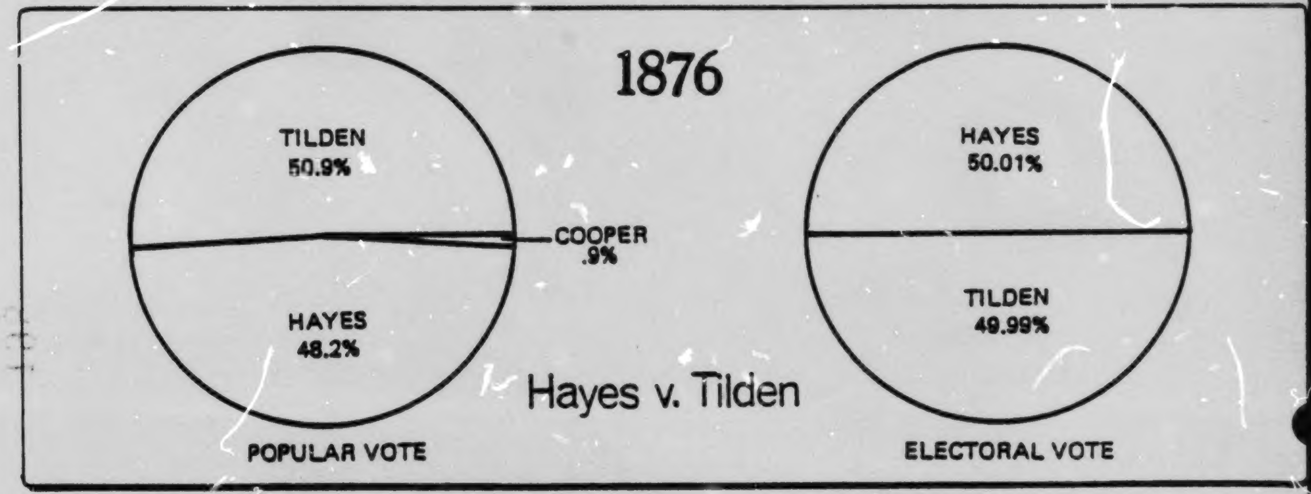


Carter v. Reagan

Comparing Popular and Electoral Vote







From Improving Citizenship Education, Fulton County School System, Georgia 1981

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Questions for discussion:

1. What is the Electoral College?

2. Who established it and why?

3. How many members does it have and how is this number determined?

4. How many members does Michigan have?

5. How are the Electoral College members chosen?

6. When does the Electoral College meet?

7. How were Michigan's electoral votes distributed in the 1980 election?

8. Could someone become president even though he/she receives fewer popular votes than the opponent?

9. What happens if there is a tie in the Electoral College?

ACTIVITY

Have the student read the following editorial from The New York Times, Saturday, August 21, 1982:

Why Not on Sunday?

> Only 54 percent of the voters participated in the 1980 election, the lowest turnout for a Presidential election in 32 years. Turnout has been dwindling since 1960, when 61 percent voted, and the trend is apparently continuing. The Census Bureau predicts turnout in November's Congressional election could be the lowest since 1942--32.5 percent.
>
> A complex of factors, ranging from the nature of the campaign to the weather on Election Day, contribute to the problem. But one simple change might help a lot: move election day to Sunday.
>
> Following the 1972 election, a Census Bureau analysis concluded that factors related to convenience such as lack of transportation, work obligations or long lines kept more than 48 percent of registered non-voters away from the polls. Sunday voting would diminish many of those problems. It would also address the problem of "projection-infection" in national elections. When networks predict a "winner" at 9 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, voters on the West Coast conclude the election is over even though their polls are still open.
>
> It's been estimated that such predictions discourage as many as 11 percent of the voters, with disastrous consequences for local contests. On Sunday, voting could take place simultaneously across the country.
>
> Sweden, Austria, West Germany, Italy and France hold national elections on Sundays; in those countries, voter turnout is between 86 and 90 percent. The U.S. meanwhile, faces the prospect of a minority of voters selecting national leaders, prompting serious questions about the legitimacy of their mandate.
>
> Moving election day to Sunday, as proposed by Representative Mario Biaggi, the New York Democrat, would not elevate turnout to levels in European countries, but it would make some difference. With the trend to lower turnout continuing, Sunday voting is worth a try.

Questions for discussion:

1. Why does The New York Times support the idea to move election day to Sunday?
2. How would the problem of "projection-infection" be affected by a Sunday election day?
3. Do you think that voter participation would increase if elections were held on Sundays? Why or why not?
4. What are some other suggestions for increasing voter participation on election day?

ELECTORAL REFORM

Identify problems in election process in modern history. Determine why close elections were won or lost. Develop a history of needed changes.

IN CONGRESS. JULY 4. 1776.
The unanimous Declaration of the ... States of America.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

All campaign techniques are designed to influence public opinion. The purpose of this chapter is to help students understand these influences, and, therefore, be better able to make informed decisions.

Critical thinking is the major skill involved in understanding the assumptions and messages inherent in campaign rhetoric. These activities, although only a starting point, are designed to help students think through all the information available to them, and then make decisions.

HOW TO SEE THROUGH IMAGES AND DISTORTIONS

As students monitor the campaign, they may find that they are bombarded with information about candidates, yet they may find it very difficult to pin down candidates' positions. Slogans, name recognition and personality are often all that comes through in the 30- to 90-second prepackaged messages offered on the media. Even news programing often shows us the "photo opportunity" rather than any discussion of the issues. Have students take a good, objective look at the following campaign information:

TV and Radio Commercials - What did you learn about the candidate from the ad? Did you find out anything about issues or qualifications? Did the ad affect your attitude or feelings about the candidate? How important was the music, the setting, the script? Was the ad designed to appeal to a certain segment of the electorate?

Party and Candidate Materials - Campaign workers try hard to distribute leaflets and pamphlets about their candidates as widely as possible. They are left on front porches, pushed under doors and distributed at transit stops and grocery stores. Read these materials carefully. Do they tell you more about the candidate's devotion to dog and family than about qualifications for office? Be on the lookout for accusations or other statements about opponents, especially so close to election day that such statements cannot be answered or denied.

Direct Mail - More and more candidates are using direct mail to solicit funds or votes. Computerization has made it possible to send apparently personalized appeals to selected groups of voters. Members of women's groups, for example, may receive one message and members of veterans' organizations another. The direct mail letter may, however, help you to understand the candidate's stands on issues most important to you.

Speeches - Analyze a candidate's public statements. Are the appeals and arguments aimed at your emotions or your intellect? Is the candidate trying to make you angry at the opponent or incumbent or playing on your sympathy? Focus on those parts of a candidate's presentation that will have a bearing on how and what decisions are made if that candidate achieves office.

Other tactics to be wary of:

Name Calling - Beware of labels. A candidate might call an opponent "wishy-washy" or "two-faced" for positions that could just as well be described as flexible or responsive. Don't be influenced by attacks on a candidate based on family, ethnicity or other matters that will not affect performance in office.

Rumor Mongering - Beware of candidates who protest too much. Statements such as "Everyone says my opponent is a crook, but I have no personal knowledge of any wrongdoing" or "I've heard that Jones is soft on Communism" may technically be legal, but they are really dirty campaigning.

Loaded Statements - Beware of statements that imply an opponent's stand such as "I oppose wasteful spending." Loaded questions such as "what did you do to prevent the bankruptcy of the Social Security system?" have the same effect.

Guilt by Association - Beware of criticism of a candidate based on the candidate's supporters--"We all know Smith is backed by big money interests." Every candidate needs support from a wide range of people including groups who may not share the candidate's views on all the issues. Look at and judge the candidate's own words and deeds.

Catchwords - Beware of Repetitious phrases designed to trigger a knee jerk emotional reaction such as "Law and Order" or "un-American." Try to translate such words into what the candidate is really trying to say.

Baiting - Beware of candidates who try to make their opponents look weak or lose their tempers in a face-to-face confrontation.

Passing the Blame - Beware of candidates who blame the major ills of the country on their opponents. Must one person take responsibility for everything from economic problems to bad weather? Was the incumbent or the party-in-power really in a position to solve the problem?

Promising the Sky - Beware of promises that no political power can fulfill. Candidates are expected to pledge that they will tackle important problems, but they should strive toward realistic goals.

Evading Real Issues - Beware of the candidate who avoids answering direct questions. Watch out for candidates who offer only vague solutions or call for a study or those who talk about the benefits of proposed programs but can't be pinned down on costs or problems of implementation.

From Social Education, February, 1984

ROLE OF MEDIA IN AFFECTING PUBLIC OPINION

Analyzing Campaign Advertising

Television, radio and newspaper advertising are used to project a personal and political image of the candidates. It is the image the candidate wants you, the voter, to accept. Although they are designed to place the candidate in the best possible light, advertisements can also reveal important information on the candidates. Even the slickest advertising reflects a candidate's basic personality and approach to the issues of the election. Examine advertising critically. As you watch, keep the following questions in mind:

Does the ad help you understand the candidate's stand on the issues? Does it talk about the candidate's record? Or does it concentrate on the candidate's personal attributes such as "leadership qualities" or "family life"?

Which type of commercial do you feel is more effective, the "issue oriented" or the "personality oriented" ad? Which gives you the most information? Do they change your attitude toward a candidate positively or negatively? Do they reinforce views you already held? Was the ad paid for by the candidate's re-election committee, political party or by another group, such as a political action committee? Does the sponsor of the ad affect the ad's message? Do ads by political action committees take positions or make claims the candidate does not hold?

Presidential candidates usually run advertisements which attack their opponents. How do the Democrats characterize Ronald Reagan in their ads? Are the ads fair? Accurate? Examine the Republicans' advertising in the same way.

Evaluating Candidates Through the Press

Press and television coverage of the presidential candidates usually includes the following: coverage of "staged events," campaign rallies and stump speeches, interviews with the candidates and political analysis.

In evaluating coverage of various news events keep in mind the following:

What was the candidate's purpose in making a particular campaign stop? Candidates often make campaign appearances for symbolic reasons--to highlight their concern for the inner cities or to make an appeal to an important constituency, for example. Ask what political appeals and issues the candidate stresses. How did the crowd respond? What response did you have? How do the candidates attempt to influence the media? Are "news events" staged primarily to make the evening television news shows? Are these events really "news," or do they offer information clarifying issues of the campaign? Analyze the candidates' speeches and press interviews in the same way.

Analyze the news media. What differences are there in the way television and newspaper cover the campaign? The media need to simplify complex statements, issues and events and infuse the campaign with drama. Does the press concentrate on the trivia of the campaign to the exclusion of issues? Do they play up the mistakes and misstatements of the candidates? Does the press coverage seem fair and balanced? Does one candidate get more favorable treatment than another?

Incumbency is a powerful resource in the hands of a sitting president. How does Ronald Reagan use the presidency to gain campaign coverage? Is he utilizing the traditional "Rose Garden" strategy--staying in the White House--or is he making campaign trips? What is his Democratic opponent doing to counteract Reagan's advantage in gaining press coverage?

Judging Presidential Debates

Presidential debates offer voters the opportunity to judge the candidates in a face-to-face confrontation. Much of the media's attention will focus on how the candidates perform. Their style, bearing, ease or unease will be analyzed in detail. The candidates will attempt to use the debates to enhance their images and damage their opponents. The candidates should be judged by more than how comfortable they are in front of a television camera, however. Keep the following criteria in mind as you watch the debates:

How responsive are the candidates to the questions? Do they focus on the issue being raised or do they use the question to drift onto another subject, perhaps one they are more comfortable with?

Are the answers substantive or merely rhetorical? Do they show a detailed grasp of the issues? Do the candidates clarify questions you had about them before the debate? Did you learn anything new about the candidates or their positions?

Used by permission of Newsweek from 1984 Presidential Election Handbook

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

An Interview with Haynes Johnson

Haynes Johnson has spent most of his 26 years in journalism writing about politics and national affairs. In 1966 he won the Pulitzer Prize for national reporting and he has published several books on American politics, including Fall of a President, about the decline of the Nixon administration, and Lyndon, a portrait of President Lyndon Johnson. Since 1969 he has been a columnist on the national staff of the Washington Post. Below he talks to CLOSE UP about how the media covers electoral politics.

CLOSE UP: Having covered many presidential elections, how would you describe the role played by the media during the electoral process?

Haynes Johnson: Our system depends upon an informed public, and the media help set the agenda for what people decide are the issues. The media either ignore a candidate, and therefore the candidate isn't heard at all, or they give him or her exposure, making that person and his views known. How you choose to make available to the public the information upon which a campaign rests--the issues, the candidates and the personalities--greatly affects the shape of a campaign.

CLOSE UP: How do members of the media choose whom to cover and whom to ignore?

Haynes Johnson: That is a subject of great controversy. Critics of the press say there is too much power in the hands of the media. They say that the media are political brokers now, that they have the power to decide what the country will become. The truth is, it doesn't work that way, as nicely as it may seem. You cover the political process in the way you do everything else. It's an imperfect way; it's a subjective process. What a paper like the Washington Post might think is the most important story politically, the New York Times may not, nor the Wall Street Journal, nor the rest. So there is no one particular consensus that emerges out of the whole process. You look at local races, you look at national races, and out of this emerges a presidential candidate through the primary process.

One thing has changed tremendously, though, in the role of the press, and that has been the rise of television. Television has transformed the way we elect presidents. It has added a new dimension to the power and the influence of the press. Most people in America now get their news from television. The great struggle in American politics now, if you're a presidential candidate, is to get on the national network news. It is an intensely competitive process, so candidates have an army of people who are campaign experts. Consultants gain a great deal of money from the candidates by telling them how to devise media strategies. In fact, presidential campaigns are entirely designed around media strategies--how candidates can get their messages out to the public, how they can look the best, how they can appeal, and so on.

CLOSE UP: A network president once made the observation that instead of ending with "and that's the way it is," a broadcast should end with "for further information, turn to your local newspapers." Are we ill served by this 45-second synopsis of the most important issues?

Haynes Johnson: I have thought a lot about this. I've watched seven presidential campaigns now, and that's quite a few. We've only had forty presidents in our entire 200-year history, and they're coming around very fast these days. There is more and more turnover. People today are better informed than they ever have been about the intricacy and the complexity of issues. Citizenship is hard work. It works if people choose to be informed. The information is there if you choose to go after it. I think that television reports ought to have broader coverage and greater depth. They should be more than fragmentary reports. You also have newspapers and magazines; there is an incredible array of information upon which a citizen can make an intelligent judgement. You can almost argue that the media serve up too much information. We are sometimes inundated with trivial information; there is too much on personalities rather than issues.

CLOSE UP: As an editorial columnist, you are not strictly a reporter of the news but an interpreter of the news. What should readers be aware of when reading an editorial opinion versus a newspaper article?

Haynes Johnson: Anybody who consumes any kind of information ought to be aware that it is a subjective process. The idea that it is all based on perfect truth is wrong. Human beings don't operate that way. We all see things differently. For instance, what I think might be the most important thing a candidate said in a debate may not be what you think is the most important. If we're in rival news organizations, I might tell my readers the most important thing said was "X" and you might say it was "Y." So you have to read very carefully, and you have to listen very carefully. A skeptical cast of mind is indispensable in a democratic society. I'm not suggesting that there is a deliberate conspiracy to distort the news, and I don't think that's true. I think good journalists are aware of their limitations. You know that you're being used in a way by the candidates. They're always putting their best foot forward to make themselves look good.

So the role of the press in addition to strict reporting is to examine and to criticize the candidates so that the public can get a sense of where they really stand, what they're really like and what the people who work with them feel. In the long run, that serves the democratic society pretty well.

CLOSE UP: We're approaching 1984 and a new presidential election. What role does the press play in influencing who the candidates will be?

Haynes Johnson: The big newspapers, the news magazines like Time and Newsweek and the networks are called the national press. If the national press decides to give more publicity to candidate "X" than to candidate "Y," "Y" may never be heard fairly. By deciding that someone is the "front runner," you have sort of anointed that person in the people's minds, and it gives that person a tremendous advantage. If I were to criticize the way we begin our presidential coverage, it would be on two levels. One, we still operate too much as if it's a horse race. Who's ahead? Who is the favorite? Who might be the next person? It's a very short sighted way of looking at things. It fails to examine what the candidates really stand for. What are their values? What might they do given the responsibility of being the next president? How would they perform on the basis of their past record? What do we know about their human qualities?

CLOSE UP: You developed the concept of taking "the pulse of the people" prior to elections. How do you go about doing that, and what is the pulse of the people telling you now?

Haynes Johnson: I'm preparing to leave this Saturday on a trip around the United States. I'll be gone for six weeks. I'll travel into every corner of the United States: the Midwest, the Pacific Northwest, the Southwest, the deep South and the industrial Northeast. Along the way I'll be writing stories about people I talk to, and I will try to draw a profile of each area I'm in, a cross section of opinion and attitudes from business people, from people who are on all sides of the political-economic spectrum. I'll talk to laborers, to people who are doing very well economically and to those who are out of work. I am trying to report on what the attitudes are in the country. I think that's a very valuable thing to do. We're a very large society, highly complex, and I think the press has a responsibility to attempt to report and put into context where we are right now. We're going through a very difficult time economically, in many ways the worst since the Great

Depression. We have had the largest number of bankruptcies since 1932, the highest rate of unemployment since 1940. Our banking system is experiencing great strains. Not since the 1930's have we undergone such convulsions. How people are responding to these events, how they feel about them, what they would like to have done, is what I'm going to be trying to identify. It's not a definitive portrait ever; its a segment. We have a saying here that "journalism is history on the run;" it's the "first rough draft of history."

Used by permission of the Close Up Foundation

the 30-SECOND SPOT quiz

Based on *The Pitch* © 1982 by Hugh Rank

How to Analyze Ads:
Use this 1-2-3-4-5 sequence of questions, (see next page) to focus on the *"skeleton"* underneath the *"surface variations"* of radio and TV commercials, newspaper and magazine ads.

Recognize that a 30-second-spot TV ad is a **synthesis,** the end product of a complex process in which scores of people (writers, researchers, psychologists, artists, actors, camera crews, etc.) may have spent months putting together the details. TV commercials are often the best *compositions* of our age, skillful combinations of purposeful words and images. Be patient and systematic: **analysis** takes time to sort out all of the things going on at once. We **perceive** these things *simultaneously,* but we must discuss them *sequentially.* Use this 1-2-3-4-5 pattern of "the pitch" as a sequence to start your analysis.

Recognize "surface variations": in 30 seconds, a TV spot may have 40 quick-cut scenes of "good times" (happy people, sports fun, drinking cola); or 1 slow "tracking" scene of an old-fashioned sleighride through the woods ending at "home" with "Season's Greetings" from an aerospace corporation; or a three-scene drama: a problem suffered by some "friend," a product/solution recommended by a trusted "authority," and a final grateful smile from the relieved sufferer. But, the structure underneath is basically the same.

Recognize our own involvement in a mutual transaction. Persuaders are *benefit-promisers,* but we are *benefit-seekers.* Most ads relate to simple "trade-offs" of mutual benefits: consumers get a pleasure, producers get a profit. However, investigate issues relating to any non-consumer ad; these are paid presentations of only one side of an issue, often involving more than a simple purchase transaction.

Understand that advertising is basically persuasion, not information nor education, *And not coercion!* Many important moral and ethical issues (concerning intent and consequences, priorities, individual and social effects, truth and deception, legal and regulatory problems) are related. The more we know about the basic techniques of persuasion, the better able we are not only to cope with the multiple persuaders in our society, but also to consider these ethical issues.

1 What ATTENTION-GETTING techniques are used?

Anything unusual? Unexpected? Noticeable? Interesting? Related to:

- ☐ **senses:** motions, colors, lights, sounds, music, visuals (e.g., computer graphics, slow-motion)
- ☐ **emotions:** any associations *(see list below):* sex, scenery, exciting action, fun, family, pets.
- ☐ **thought:** news, lists, displays, claims, advice, questions, stories, demonstrations, contest.

(*Popular* TV **programs** *function as* attention-getters *to "deliver the audience" to advertisers.)*

2 What CONFIDENCE-BUILDING techniques are used?

- ☐ Do you *recognize, know* (from earlier repetition) the **brand name? company? symbol? package?**
- ☐ Do you *already know, like,* and *trust* the **"presenters"**: the endorsers, actors, models?
- ☐ Are these "presenters" **AUTHORITY FIGURES** (expert, wise, protective, caring,)? Or, are they **FRIEND FIGURES** (someone you like, like to be, "on your side"; incl. "cute" cartoons) ?
- ☐ What **key words** are used? (*Trust, sincere,* etc.) **Nonverbals?** *(smiles, voice tones, sincere look)*
- ☐ In **mail ads**, are computer-written *"personalized"* touches used? On **telephone:** tapes? scripts?

3 What DESIRE-STIMULATING techniques are used?

(Main part of ad)

Consider (a) **"target audience"** as (b) **benefit-seeking;** and persuaders benefit-promising strategies as focused on (c) **product claims**, or, (d) **"added values"** associated with product.

- ☐ a. **Who is the "target audience"?** Are *you?* (If *not*, as part of an unintended audience, are you *uninterested* or *hostile* toward the ad?)
- ☐ b. **What's the primary motive of that audience's benefit-seeking?** Use chart at right. Most ads are simple acquisition (*lower left*). Often, such motives co-exist, but one may be dominant. Ads which intensify a **problem**, (that is, a "bad" already hated or feared; *the opposite, or the absence of,* "goods") and then offer the product as a **solution**, are here called **"scare-and-sell"** ads. (*right side*).

To keep a "good" *(protection)*	**To get rid of a "bad"** *(relief)*
To get a "good *(acquisition)*	**To avoid a "bad"** *(prevention)*

☐ c. **What kinds of product claims are emphasized?** *(use these 12 categories)* what key words,images? Any *measurable* claims? Or are they *subjective opinions, generalized* praise words ("puffery")?

SUPERIORITY *("best")*
QUANTITY *("most")*
EFFICIENCY*("works")*
BEAUTY *("lovely")*
SCARCITY *("rare")*
NOVELTY *("new")*

STABILITY *("classic")*
RELIABILITY *("solid")*
SIMPLICITY *("easy")*
UTILITY *("practical")*
RAPIDITY *("fast")*
SAFETY *("safe")*

☐ d. **Are any "added values" implied or suggested?** Are there words or images which associate the product with some "good" already loved or desired by the intended audience? With such common human needs/wants/desires as in these 24 categories:

"basic" needs:
FOOD *("tasty)*
ACTIVITY *("exciting")*
SURROUNDINGS *("comfort")*
SEX *("alluring")*
HEALTH *("healthy")*
SECURITY *("protect")*
ECONOMY *("save")*

"certitude" needs:
RELIGION *("right")*
SCIENCE *("research")*
BEST PEOPLE *("elite")*
MOST PEOPLE *("popular")*
AVERAGE PEOPLE *("typical")*

"territory" needs:
NEIGHBORHOOD *("hometown")*
NATION *("country")*
NATURE *("earth")*

love & belonging needs:
INTIMACY *("lover")*
FAMILY *("Mom" "kids")*
GROUPS *("team")*

"growth" needs:
ESTEEM *("respected")*
PLAY *("fun")*
GENEROSITY *("gift")*
CREATIVITY *("creative")*
CURIOUSITY *("discover")*
COMPLETION *("success")*

4 Are there URGENCY-STRESSING techniques used?

(Not all ads: but always check.)

☐ If an urgency appeal: What words? *(e.g. Hurry, Rush, Deadline, Sale Ends, Offer Expires, Now.)*

☐ If no urgency: is this "soft sell" part of a *repetitive, long-term ad campaign* for standard item?

5 What RESPONSE-SEEKING techniques are used?

Persuaders always seek some kind of response!)

☐ *Are there specific triggering* words used? (Buy, Get, Do, Call, Act, Join, Smoke, Drink, Taste, etc.)

☐ **Is there a specific response** sought? (Most ads: to buy something)

☐ **If not: is it conditioning** ("public relations" or "image building") to make us **"feel good"** about the company, to get favorable public opinion on *its* side (against any government regulations, taxes)?

Based on *The Pitch* © 1982 by Hugh Rank (Teachers may photocopy for classroom use.)

Observe. Understand. Judge. (in *that* sequence!)Observe closely what is explicitly said and shown; consider carefully what may be implied, suggested either by verbal or nonverbal means.

Anticipate incoming information. Have some way to sort, some place to store. If you know common patterns, you can pick up cues from bits and fragments, recognize the situation, know the probable options, infer the rest, and even note the omissions. Some persuaders use these techniques (and some observers analyze them) consciously and systematically; others, intuitively and haphazardly.

Categorize, but don't "pigeonhole." Things may be in many categories at the same time. "Clusters" and "mixes" are common. Observers often disagree.

Seek "dominant impressions," but relate them to the whole. You can't analyze *everything*. Focus on what seems (*to you*) the most *noticeable, interesting,* or *significant* elements (e.g. an intense "urgency" appeal, a very strong "authority" figure). By relating these to the whole context of "the pitch," your analysis can be *systematic, yet flexible*, appropriate to the situation.

Translate "indirect" messages. Much communication is *indirect*, through metaphoric language, allusions, rhetorical questions, irony, nonverbals (gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice), etc. Millions of specific concrete ways of communicating something can be grouped in the general abstract categories listed here as "product claims" (3c) and "common needs" (3d). Visuals imply.

Train yourself by first analyzing those ads which explicitly use the full sequence of "the pitch," including "urgency-stressing" and a specific "response-seeking." Always check for this full sequence; when it does not appear, consider what may have been omitted: *assumed* or *implied*. "Soft sell" ads and corporate "image-building" ads are harder to analyze: *less is said, more is implied.*

Practice. Analysis is a skill which can be learned, but needs to be practiced. Take notes. Use print ads. Videotape, if possible; replay in slow motion. No one can "see" or "understand" everything during the actual 30 seconds while watching a TV spot. At best, we pick up a few impressions. Use the pattern of "the pitch" to organize your analysis and aid your memory. Such organization helps to avoid randomness and simple subjectivity.

Are ads worth all of this attention? Ads may not be, but *your mind is* . If we can better learn how to analyze things, to recognize patterns, to sort out incoming information, to see the parts, the processes, the structure, the relationships within things so common in our everyday environment, then it's worth the effort.

Professor Hugh Rank Governors State University Park Forest South, Illinois

1984: THE NEWS

AIM To analyze the relationships between television news and a democratic society. To answer the who, what, where, when, why, and sometimes how of television news. To explain the meaning of "freedom of the press." To survey the choices of an educated and informed citizen in 1984.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS BEFORE VIEWING

Robert Cirino wrote: "People in highly industrialized societies get most of their information about public affairs from television. At best, television news is a headline service, giving people a key-hole glimpse at some of the important trends, events, and issues. Even news broadcasters agree that television news by itself does not provide the public with enough information to be able to make thoughtful, reasonable choices about political matters."

Public affairs programming on a typical station usually amounts to about 30 percent of regularly scheduled programming.

What purpose do television news programs now serve? How much responsibility lies with the medium in the legal mandate of broadcasting licenses to serve "the public interest, convenience, or necessity"? How is television news changing in the 1980's? Is there more depth to its coverage, if not in prime time then in "fringe" hours, or simply more coverage? Will television ever serve as a substitute for newsprint? How does television's advantage of being a visual and audible medium give it, and the news, perspectives that are often not found in print? How can film or tape be enlightening, deceiving, or both? What are the limitations as well as the possibilities of presenting the news in this medium? What does it do poorly or well in an election year? Has television brought us any closer to the educated and enlightened citizenry Thomas Jefferson saw as democracy's protection against tyranny and oppression?

John Corry wrote in The New York Times: "One looked...on television for...programs that got down to the serious business of explanation.

"...Television as a whole is at its best when it has a big breaking story. Whatever its failures as a news medium--and criticism of television journalism has intensified--television is wonderfully well equipped to show us what is happening when it happens. The bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut and the invasion of Grenada, both in the same week, were two of the biggest stories of the year. Cameras and correspondents were absent at the beginning of both stories, with Pentagon fiat keeping them away from Grenada. But in the aftermath, television showed how good it could be.

"Individual commentators sometimes stumbled in their analyses; individual reporters sometimes stumbled on their facts. But as a vehicle for the national debate that followed Beirut and Grenada, television was at its best...Television journalism...pulled itself together for the big stories."

What advantages does television have in its ability to cover the news and disseminate it immediately? Do you agree with the press blackout for the landing in Grenada? Why? Why not? How many people participated in the "National Debate"? CBS claims one out of ten homes in the U.S. tunes into CBS News Nightwatch one or more nights a week, despite the fact it is on between 2:30 and 6 a.m. ET. The first two hours of the show feature an issue-oriented discussion including interviews as well as news headlines. Should such a format be used in prime time? Would it influence policy in a democracy? The PBS MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour has been accused of boring viewers with such coverage in prime time. Jonathan Friendly writes: "Mr. MacNeil says the boredom is in the eye of the beholder and may be related to the ways the network newscasts have conditioned viewers to expect the sensational picture or quotation, the moment of dramatic action."

Walter Cronkite sees the problem stemming from "...the inadvertent and perhaps inevitable distortion that results through the hyper-compression we are all forced to exert to fit one hundred pounds of news into the one-pound sack that we are given to fill each night...The cumulative effect is devastating, eating away at our credibility.

"We newsmen are biased and we are prejudiced," Cronkite testified to the Senate. "We are human beings...Yet if there is any single hallmark of this professionalism we claim--indeed that distinguishing characteristic which makes us professionals and not mere craftsmen--is that we have learned in our journalism schools and in practice to recognize the symptoms of personal opinions and to seek to avoid them in reporting the day's news...We are far from perfect...But that is not the point. How could we be improved by outside monitors without destroying the independent which is so essential to a free press?..."

Read the landmark case of John Peter Zenger. How did it establish freedom of the press in America? Do all journalists avoid personal opinions? Is their power wisely used? Would the founding fathers have defended the freedom of even those publishers who did not use their power wisely? Why? Why not? Who should decide what is "wise"? How? Are the news stories on TV fair if not unbiased? What considerations determine which items will be aired? How does a free press control itself in a medium licensed by the government?

Freedom of conscience, of education, of speech, of assembly are among the very fundamentals of democracy and all of them would be nullified should freedom of the press ever be successfully challenged.

- Franklin D. Roosevelt
Letter - 1940

Herbert J. Gans wrote: "With some oversimplification, it would be fair to say that the news supports the social order of public, business and professional, upper-middle-class, and white male sectors of society...In short, when all other things are equal, the news pays more attention to and upholds the actions of elite individuals and elite institutions. It would be incorrect to say that the news is about elites per se or a single elite; rather, the news deals mostly with those who hold the power within various national or societal strata...Nevertheless, the news is not subservient to powerful individuals or groups, for it measures their behavior against a set of values that is assumed to transcend them...it views the nation and society through its own set of values and with its own conception of the good social order."

Marshall McLuhan wrote: "In operational and practical fact, the medium is the message. This is merely to say that the personal and social consequences of any medium--that is of any extension of ourselves--result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology...because it is the medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action...For any medium has the power of imposing its own assumptions on the unwary."

Does television news therefore serve as information, entertainment, or a way of molding public opinion? Should it operate from the perspectives of its sources? Its audience? Its reporters and editors? If most people are more interested in local news, how does television make national news relevant? Does TV news depend on and reinforce stereotypes, as Walter Lippman asserted? Does it invent them? Is any particular view of reality right or wrong? What responsibility does the viewer have? What responsibility did viewers have in Orwell's 1984?

Daniel Schorr said: "We are in an era when events hardly have meaning except as they are packaged." Can the packaging be changed yet still maintain its values, impact, and desirability to its viewers? Considering the problems involved, how good a job do you believe television does in reporting the news?

Does the diversity of television news sources now available increase the chances of good coverage? What happens when governments try to stop coverage, as in the cases of the Nixon plumbers or Grenada? How does U.S. news coverage compare with that in other countries? How does it help our country?

A. J. Liebling wrote: "As an observer from outside I take a grave view of the plight of the press. It is the weak slat under the bed of democracy. It is an anomaly that information, the one thing most necessary to our survival as choosers of our own way, should be a commodity subject to the same merchandising rules as chewing gum, while armament, a secondary instrument of liberty, is a Government concern. A man is not free if he cannot see where he is going, even if he has a gun to help him get there."

"One alternative to an informed people making right decisions from choice is a correctly informed Government making decisions on the basis of information it cannot communicate to the people...To make this alternative system work, requires a people imbued with, or cowed into, the habit of blind obedience. We are not ready for it.

"The other alternative, a badly informed Government leading a badly informed people, is not an ideal, although it has happened here at times...

"As an observer from inside...I have a rather different view...When I am working at it, I have no time to think about the shortcomings of the American or world press; I must look sharp not to come too short myself. Sinbad, clinging to a spar, had no time to think of systematic geography. To understand perfectly a new country, new situation, the new characters you confront on an assignment, is impossible. To understand more than half, so that your report will have significant correlation with what is happening, is hard. To transmit more than half of what you understand is a hard trick, too, far beyond the task of the so-called creative artist, who if he finds a character in his story awkward can simply change its characteristics...It is possible, occasionally, to get something completely right: a scene, or a pattern of larceny, or a man's mind. These are the reporter's victories, as rare as a pitcher's home runs."

> The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained by despotic governments.
>
> \- George Mason
> The Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776)

"A good reporter, if he chooses the right approach, can understand a cat or an Arab (or any man). The choice is the problem, and if he chooses wrong he will come away scratched or baffled. (There is a different approach to every cat and every Arab.) The best reporters occasionally fail badly, and the fair ones half-fail often."

Substitute the word "teacher" for "reporter" wherever it appears in the previous quotation. How do all transmitters of information have similar problems? How are they all responsible for maintaining our democracy? If they avoid or misinterpret complex or controversial subjects, what kind of government will we have? Why is freedom of the press protected in the First Amendment along with free speech? Are both protected whether or not they are "right"? Accurate? Why? Why not? Are "experts" who can cover (in theory) events in many places at once more accurate than reporters at the scene? Whose interpretation should be accepted? Should reporters merely report or is interpretation part of the job? What is the function of the anchorperson in news presentation--merely a plastic face and talking head or an editor and interpreter? Does the passive viewer of television news give implicit assent by his inaction? How should reporters and viewers select the kind of news to be presented?

William Ruehlmann writes: "It is not the reporter's job to protect his audience form reality in the name of good taste. He is not to present a sanitized picture of the world; he is to present a truthful one. That may involve terrible revelations. The world can be a terrible place."

How has television news coverage changed in recent years so that there is less "sanitization" of images? Are pictures of mutilated bodies pandering to a taste for violence or instilling revulsion of it? Do viewers, particularly younger ones, distinguish between real and fictional violence on television? Are the effects of stories not the business of those who report them? Should reporters censor those stories that may be morally offensive or is such censorship ethically more offensive? What kind of role models does television news present both in the people it covers and those who cover them? Should news include stories about sex and sadism? How should they be handled? Is the use of such stories a resort to sensationalism or an attempt to compete with cable, satellite, or recorded X-rated material? Why is violence more acceptable than sex? Are prurient interests learned or innate? How would you rank them in comparison to other interests with respect to news coverage? Why are naked bodies of third world residents acceptable on television news but not those of industrialized countries? What other relationships between objectivity and geography exist? Does objectivity exist at all?

Peter Schrag wrote: "Every reporter operates with certain assumptions about what constitutes normative behavior, if not the good society, and the more 'objective' he tries to be, the more likely those assumptions will remain concealed." Can news personnel operate without any values? Should those values be explicit or implicit? What kinds of values are projected by television news? Do you ever see stories favorable to aspects of life in Socialist or Communist countries? Unfavorable to conditions in our own democracy? Can our society fix its leaks if it ignores them? Are the values of television news people shared by the audiences of their shows? Are they shaped by them?

John Chancellor said: "Reporters, I think, probably have...a bias toward pragmatism and common sense. Reporters are people--and they tend to appreciate...competent and honest men; they tend to be hard on scoundrels and buffoons. They learn--firsthand--that things must be done (in effort and money) to solve problems, and that gets them in trouble with the conservatives. They learn--firsthand, in the wars and the riots--that violence and radicalism seldom solve anything, and that gets them in trouble with the new left. Most reporters are members of the extreme center--I am--and it's a difficult place to be these days..."

Do we lose by having our news programs concentrate on middle-of-the-road approaches? Should television news programs offer a choice among those based on left, center, and right wing political viewpoints? Can reporters separate their values about society in general from those related to their working conditions, such as a support for civil liberties (freedom of the press) or an antipathy to bureaucracies or conformists? Are they asking the right questions, if not getting the right answers? Do people on the extremes of the political spectrum believe so? Why did the founding fathers insist on the value to a democracy of a "free marketplace of ideas"? With more choices available with new technology in the variety of news programs, will audiences react to values they do not share by switching channels? Will news presentation become a political power struggle? A democracy's strength? Is it now? What kind of feedback does it get and create? What are the results of that feedback for television, politicians and government, moral and religious leaders, distributors and wielders of power, agents of social change and control, and managers of the stage (including television) on which national issues are presented? Is the feedback positive or is it censorship?

> Why should any man be allowed to buy a
> printing press and disseminate
> pernicious opinions calculated to
> embarrass the government?
>
> \- Nikolai Lenin
> Speech-1920

If reporters, editors, producers, the military, business, various branches of government, politicians, and everyone else with an ax to grind are involved in a power struggle to influence the news, what are the effects on the public? On the press? What are the dangers if even one member of the press permits himself or herself to be pressured or intimidated? Are the dangers magnified in an election year? How can the viewing public gain influence in the struggle? How can educators help? Students? With all the problems, shouldn't we be happy with how well television news has done despite them? If you want to be involved in the process, what should you do?

In a scene from Doonesbury, G. B. Trudeau creates the following dialogue: "Mr. Duke, I'm thinking of becoming a reporter. What advice would you give someone who is just starting out?"

"Look, Junior, Journalism is a Jungle! Never forget that! In Journalism, there are no winners, just survivors! We are talking snake pit city, Slim! So dig it! I been there! If you falter for a second, your colleagues will waste you, will savage your rep, your name, your...your...What was the question again?"

What was the question again?

Used by permission of the Teachers Guides to Television.

ACTIVITY

Ask the students to consider this moral dilemma.

> You are a reporter who started your career as a Press Secretary to a representative in the House whom you have greatly admired and respected and to whom you are indebted for a start on your career. Now in the course of preparing a story, you uncover some facts that are far less than flattering to this representative, once again a candidate for office. If you mention these facts in the story, they will hurt the candidate's chances for election. Should you include them in the story? Do you owe your loyalty now to your friend, or to your profession of reporting and the public?

After identifying the dilemma, students may consider such questions as these:

1. Would the kind of flaws in the candidate's record make a difference to you? Which sorts of flaws would you consider minor? Which really serious?
2. What will other reporters or your boss or your family or the candidate think of you if you leave out the damaging facts? If you include them?
3. How damaging will including all of the facts be to the candidate?
4. Should the candidate have an opportunity to explain his side of the fact to you.
5. What is more important, your loyalty to a person or to the public interest?

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Dr. George H. Gallup has built an outstanding reputation for himself on the concept of cross section sampling. He organized the American Institute of Public Opinion for the purpose of collecting information on what people think regarding the major issues of the day.

THE GALLUP REPORT, formerly THE GALLUP OPINION INDEX, has been published monthly since 1965 by The Gallup Poll, Princeton, New Jersey. Dr. Gallup is chairman of The Gallup Poll.

Have the students read the following excerpt written by Dr. Gallup in an article entitled "Polling Public Opinion," CURRENT HISTORY, February, 1940.

> As the new surveys of public opinion venture into another Presidential year, their distinguishing mark is the use of the cross-section principle. Briefly it means that interviews must be obtained from each of the important and heterogeneous opinion groups in the United States in exact proportion to the size of that group in American life or in proportion to its numbers on election day. In the great majority of cases six main "controls" have been found to suffice: The sample must contain the proper proportion of (1) voters from each state, (2) men and women, (3) farm voters, voters in towns of 2,500 or less, and voters in towns and cities of more than 2,500, (4) voters of all age groups, including those who will come of age by election day, (5) voters of above-average and below-average incomes, as well as persons on relief, and (6) Democrats, Republicans and persons of other political affiliations.
>
> Essentially there is nothing new in the principle of cross-section sampling. The county bacteriologist who takes specimens of the water in a neighborhood stream at different points, to determine its purity, is making use of the principle. So is the ore-tester who calculates the richness of a lode of iron ore by thrusting a scoop into the ore at different points. What is new is the application of cross-section sampling to the much more difficult business of sampling public opinion. Surprisingly enough this major principle has been completely overlooked in nearly all previous surveys of the public.
>
> In modern polls of public opinion the number of persons interviewed is almost the least important factor. Far more important in assuring accuracy is the representativeness of the cross-section. Indeed, it is even possible that a perfectly satisfactory nation-wide poll could be conducted with only 500 or 1000 interviews provided they were properly selected.

If there statements seem strange, it is because most Americans still cling to the notion that the accuracy of THE LITERARY DIGEST prior to 1936 was the result of its millions of ballots. But while millions of ballots are justifiable from a publicity standpoint, experience and statistical theory both indicate that a point is speedily reached in nearly every survey, usually within a few thousand interviews, where the addition of further interviews does not materially alter the total vote.

For clarification:

1. What is the cross-section principle?
2. Why is the number of persons in the sampling group the least important factor?

From THE GALLUP REPORT

NOTE TO READER

THE SAMPLE: The sampling procedure of the Gallup Poll is designed to produce samples which are representative of the U.S. civilian adult population. National survey results are based on interviews with a minimum of 1,500 adults.

SAMPLING TOLERANCES: In interpreting survey results, it should be remembered all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population had been interviewed. Samples of 1,500 have a tolerance within 3 percentage points 95 percent of the time. Certain population groups are not reported separately for many surveys because the number of persons in the sample is not enough to provide sufficiently accurate results.

SURVEY DATE: The dates used in this report are the dates when the field work was done; generally one and one half or two weeks prior to publication dates. For some topics--those where the time factor is unimportant--interviewing dates are often more than two weeks prior to publication.

Possible student activities:

1. To find out how students feel about major issues, a political candidate, a new television program, a new product on the market, a new policy and/or a new fad, discuss with students survey techniques and ask them how many of them would need to be interviewed to get a good sampling and accurate results?

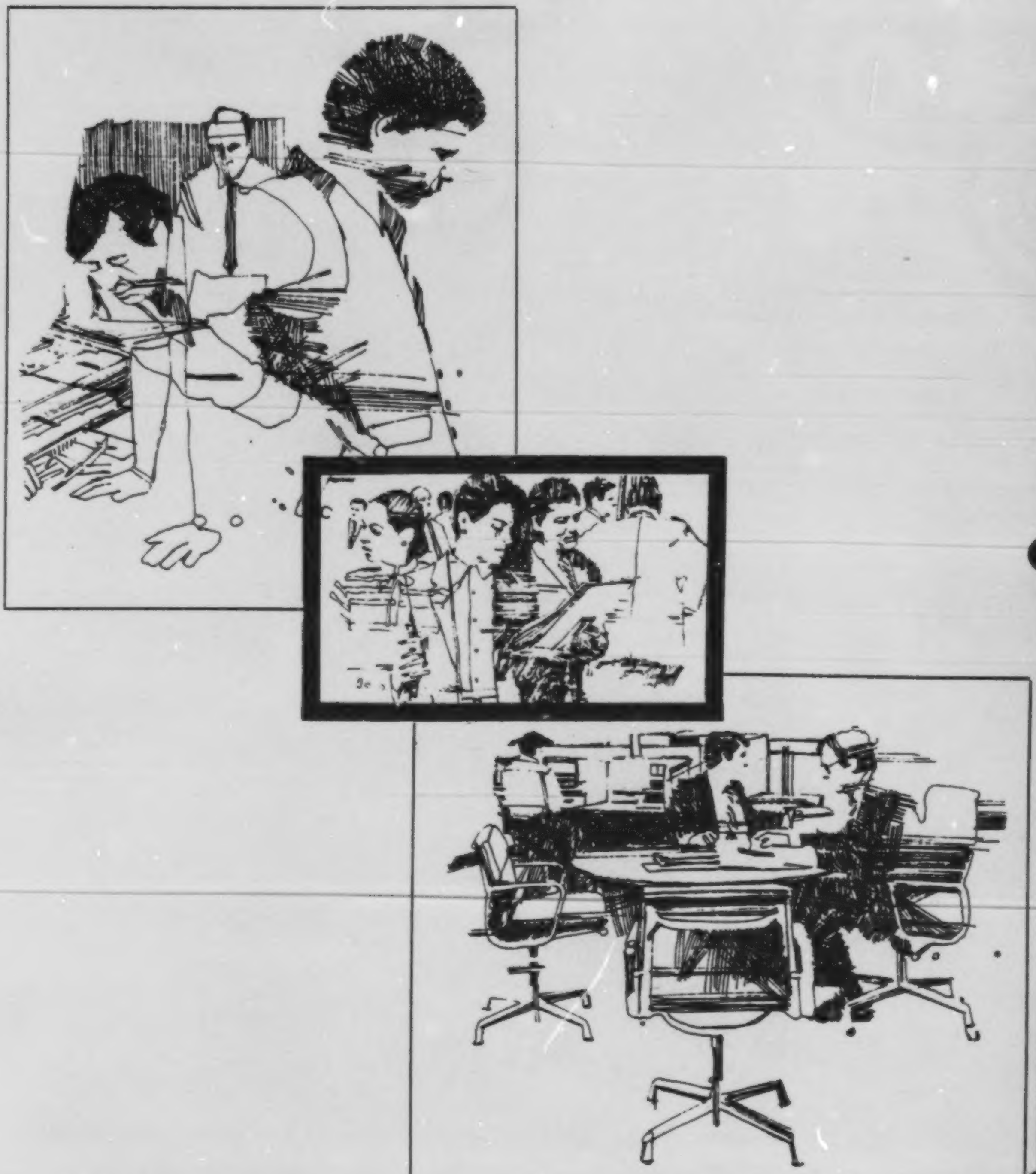
2. To find out how citizens feel about installing a new traffic light by the school, ask how many of them would need to be interviewed to get a good sampling and accurate results. Conduct such a survey.

3. Bring copies of THE GALLUP REPORT to class and share some of the political, social and economic trends with classmates.

4. How have the six categories of groups changed since 1940? Which ones have been deleted? Why? Which ones have been added? Why?

5. Why were the predictions of THE LITERARY DIGEST so inaccurate in the election of 1936?1

6. How do THE DETROIT NEWS and THE DETROIT FREE PRESS conduct opinion polls? How accurate are they? Why or why not?



METHODOLOGY

Design of the Sample

The design of the sample used by the Gallup Poll for its standard surveys of public opinion is that of a replicated probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas.

After stratifying the nation geographically and by size of community in order to insure conformity of the sample with the latest available estimates by the Census Bureau of the distribution of the adult population, over 350 different sampling locations or areas (Census Tracts or Census Enumeration Districts) are selected on a mathematically random basis from within cities, towns, and counties which have in turn been selected on a mathematically random basis. The interviewers have no choice whatsoever concerning the part of the city, town, or county in which they conduct their interviews.

Approximately five interviews are conducted in each such randomly selected sampling point. Interviewers are given maps of the area to which they are assigned, with a starting point indicated; they are required to follow a specified direction. At each occupied dwelling unit, interviewers are instructed to select respondents by following a prescribed systematic method and by a male-female assignment. This procedure is followed until the assigned number of interviews has been completed.

Since this sampling procedure is designed to produce a sample which approximates the adult civilian population (18 and older) living in private households in the United States (that is, excluding those in prisons and hospitals, hotels, religious and educational institutions, and on military reservations), the survey results can be applied to this population for the purpose of projecting percentages into number of people. The manner in which the sample is drawn also produces a sample which approximates the population of private households in the United States. Therefore, survey results can also be projected in terms of number of households when appropriate.

Sampling Error

In interpreting survey results, it should be remembered that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed. The size of such sampling errors depends largely on the number of interviews.

ACTIVITY

Study the surveys made by Gallup Polls and the final results for the 1980 presidential election.

Questions for discussion:

1. What factor(s) influenced the Gallup survey in final weeks before the election?
2. How important are daily events in affecting survey results? Explain.
3. How did Gallup's surveys compare with the final results?
4. How were the surveys conducted? Who were interviewed? How many persons were interviewed?
5. How must a survey of the electoral vote be conducted? Why?
6. Could Carter have used the Gallup surveys to his advantage? Why or why not?
7. How important are these surveys to the political party and/or candidates? Explain.

ACTIVITY

Have the students read the following excerpt taken from THE PULSE OF DEMOCRACY: THE PUBLIC-OPINION POLL AND HOW IT WORKS by George Gallup and Saul Forbes Rae, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1940, p. 246.

> Practical politicians occasionally criticize the public-opinion polls, because they believe that measuring the pulse of democracy will do serious harm to the patient. It has frequently been asserted that public-opinion polls are "dangerous," that they place the voting process in jeopardy by announcing the result before the electorate has expressed its will on Election Day, and reduce popular interest in the election itself. Many political observers express the fear that the polls create a "band-wagon" rush to whatever is presented as the popular side. Politicians appear to have devoted so much time and effort to swinging voters to their support by prophesying and publicizing ultimate victory that they have convinced themselves that this bandwagon technique is effective at all times and in all places.

Questions for discussion:

1. What are the two charges made against public opinion polls?
2. Do you believe that polls tend to destroy the democratic process? Why or why not?
3. What is the band wagon theory?
4. Do you believe that the "losing" side is handicapped because voters want to get on the "band-wagon"? Why or why not?
5. Do you believe that the 1980 presidential election was "dangerously influenced" by the predictions made by the major networks and pollsters? Why or why not?
6. Do you think that California and other western states in the same time zone were influenced by the "band wagon theory" during the 1980 presidential election? Why or why not?
7. Find examples of voter behavior which reveals evidence in support of the band wagon theory.
8. Find examples of voter behavior which negates the band wagon theory.

ACTIVITY

One way to help students understand polls is to have them conduct one themselves. The following one was designed by a social studies teacher for his juniors and seniors to use with fourth graders. The results were tabulated and then, discussed.

1. Can you think of a news story that made you happy or angry?
2. Who is the most important person in our country?
3. Who are some important Americans from our past?
4. Will you vote when you're old enough?
5. Who are the two candidates for President?
6. Which man is Republican; which is Democratic?
7. Which is the best candidate? Why?
8. Name other important positions besides the presidency.
9. Can you name a Senator from Michigan?
10. Check three jobs that you would like the best: Mayor, Teacher, Judge, Police Chief, Principal, President, Professional Athlete, Dentist, Religious Leader, Professional Musician.
11. Which three do you fear the most? (Same List)
12. What kinds of things does a President do?
13. What does Congress do?
14. If you could vote, who would be the best person to ask for advice on voting? Friend, Family, Neighbor, Teacher.
15. If you could change the world in any way, what change would you make?
16. Has the President done a good job?

ADVERTISING

Once the key states are targeted and the game plan developed, the candidates "take themselves to the voters." During the 1984 campaign one can expect Ronald Reagan and his Democratic opponent to spend upwards of 60 percent of their money and time on media advertising, especially television advertising. The importance of the mass media is that they give quick national exposure. As expensive as media time is, it takes less time and energy than personal campaign appearances and it can be shaped and molded to fit any political situation. Ads are designed to air in particular states, even to reach particular groups of voters--blacks or women, for example. Above all, they are used to create a positive image of the Candidate. Jimmy Carter's image enhancers portrayed him as a trusting, honest peanut farmer who would "never lie" to the American people. Ronald Reagan was projected as a "can-do" man who represented traditional values, strength and optimism. In 1972, Richard Nixon's ads described him merely as "The President."

While these media spots are designed to manipulate the voters, even the most talented media wizard can't repackage a weak candidate into a winner. As Washington Post reporter Mark Shields notes, "The media consultant can refine the candidate's image but every campaign is eventually a mirror reflection of the candidate. Richard Nixon's own criminality and paranoia infused his 1972 campaign, just as George McGovern's self-righteous indecisiveness characterized his run that year."

PERSONAL APPEARANCES

While "television may be *the* campaign," as writer Theodore White says, the candidates still take to the campaign trail. Even a poor speaker like Gerald Ford (he was explicitly ordered by his campaign managers not to make personal appearances) wound up barnstorming the country late in his campaign.

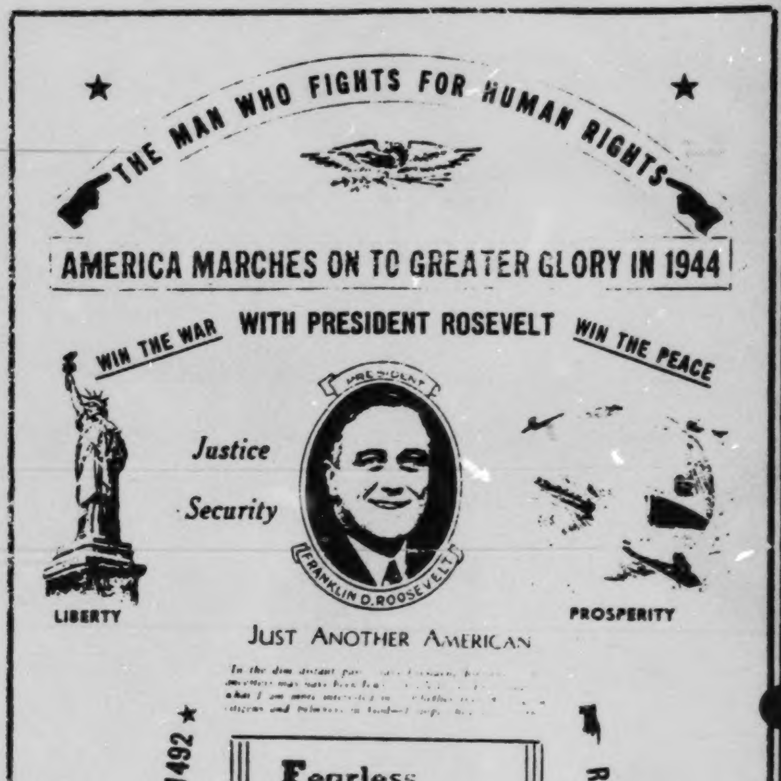
It is simply expected by the media, by the voters, and by the candidate's party. A pollster with his ear to the ground may determine that a personal campaign blitz might be enough to tip a state into one column or another or, just as important, a campaign appearance may be scheduled in order to capture that vital 60 seconds on the evening news. George McGovern once dragged photographers and reporters into a small Safeway supermarket in California, nearly terrifying the shoppers, in order to be seen talking inflation with meat buyers on the news that night. In 1980 Ronald Reagan made a campaign appearance in a blighted area of the South Bronx in order to demonstrate Jimmy Carter's broken promises and his own concern for the plight of cities. The trip backfired, however, when Reagan was jeered by angry South Bronx residents. Despite the best efforts of harried campaign managers, public appearances can still turn into spontaneous events.

Used by permission of Newsweek from 1984 Presidential Election Handbook

CAMPAIGN SLOGANS AND FLIERS

"I like Ike." "All the Way with LBJ." "Re-elect the President." Presidential election campaign slogans often linger in our memories like the jingles of television commercials, even though the candidates, especially the vice presidential aspirants, are long forgotten.

The 1944 election flier seen here documents a most unusual presidential campaign. This campaign was unique because Franklin Roosevelt was running for an unprecedented fourth term as president and because the electorate was engaged



THE MAN WHO FIGHTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

AMERICA MARCHES ON TO GREATER GLORY IN 1944

WIN THE WAR WITH PRESIDENT ROSEVELT WIN THE PEACE

Justice

Security

PRESIDENT

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

LIBERTY

PROSPERITY

JUST ANOTHER AMERICAN

Columbus Discovered America in 1492

Fearless
Democratic
Reliable
Outspoken
Outstanding
Sincere
Experienced
Valiant
Efficient
Loyal
Truthful

Roosevelt Saved America in 1933

AND NOW! WITH THE GREAT LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AMERICA HAS SAVED THE WORLD!

The Greatest President of the Greatest Nation

SELECTED TO BE RE-ELECTED

For the Freedom and Security of America and its People

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

in supporting and fighting a second World War. Despite these unusual conditions, the party nominating conventions, campaign speech making, and subsequent election proceeded as usual. In the summer of 1944, Roosevelt and his running mate, Missouri Senator Harry S. Truman, squared off against Republicans Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York, and John W. Bricker, former Governor of Ohio.

The rancorous Democratic nomination of Roosevelt for President in 1940 had broken the tradition of a two-term presidency. Roosevelt's renomination in 1944 caused no such rancor; the nation was coping with the international crisis. Roosevelt accepted his renomination, declaring that if elected he would serve as "Commander in Chief to us all." In November, Roosevelt defeated Dewey by a margin of 333 electoral votes. His election and that of a Democratic Congress reflected the nation's confidence in Roosevelt's wartime leadership. Roosevelt's death in April 1945, less than three months after his fourth inauguration, cut short the longest presidential tenure in U.S. history.

Roosevelt's 12 years as President, coupled with the pressures of the war, swung the balance of power toward the executive branch. With Roosevelt's death, Congress sought to reassert its authority. One aspect of this effort was the introduction of a constitutional amendment to limit the presidency to two terms. Despite much congressional debate, including accusations that the amendment only represented Republican anti-Roosevelt sentiment, the amendment passed Congress and was subsequently ratified by three-fourths of the states by February, 1951.

The flier is found in the Campaign Literature Collection, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library.

Teaching Activities

1. Discuss with students the meaning of the following elements of the campaign flier: "The man who fights for human rights," "Win the war/Win the peace," "Just another American," and "Roosevelt saved America in 1933." Ask students to consider why these elements would be included in such a flier.

2. In class, develop a list of presidential campaign slogans that have been used over the years (i.e.: "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too"; "Keep Cool with Coolidge"; and "Fritz and Grits in '76"). Compare and contrast these slogans with the images of Roosevelt represented in the flier.

3. The flier attaches many apparently desirable character traits to the candidate. Direct students to review the flier and develop a list of these characteristics. Which are desirable in a candidate? Which are necessary to a good president? Discuss the statement: "The qualities that make a good candidate may make a poor or inadequate president." How has campaigning by television accentuated the differences between a good candidate and a good president?

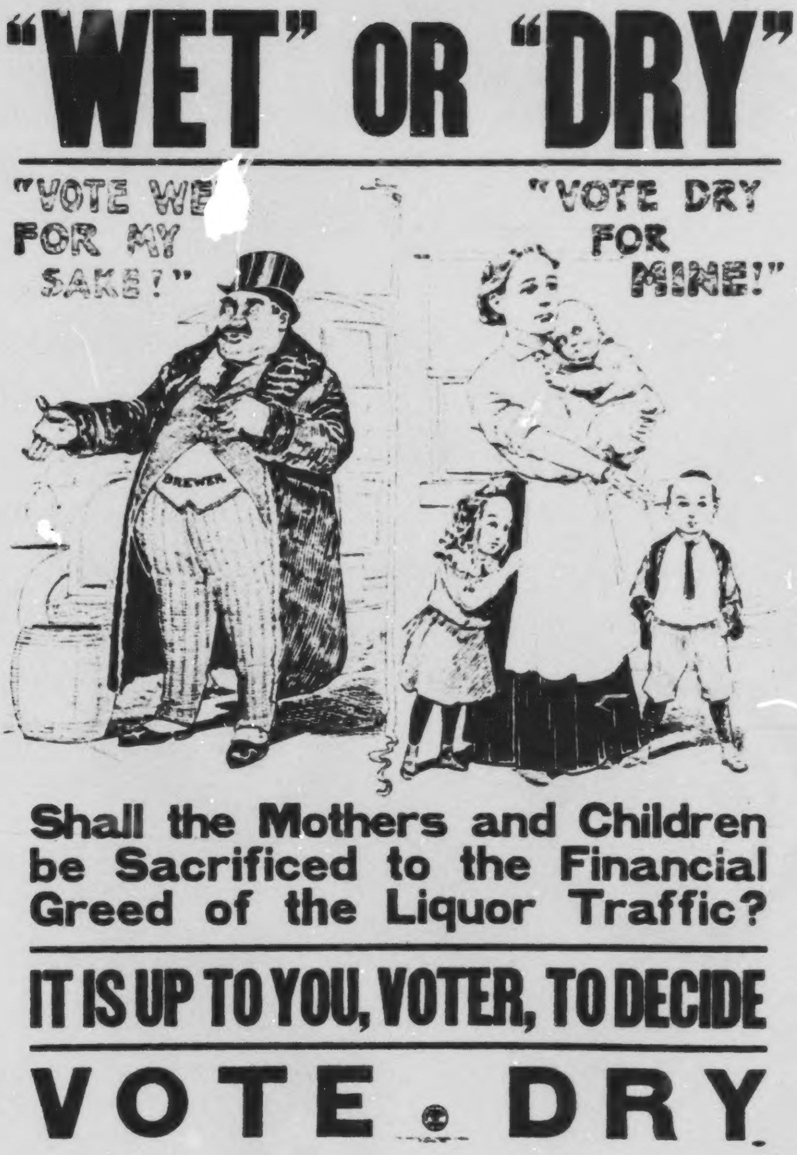
4. Campaign literature often includes photographs of the candidate. Direct students to compare the photograph of Roosevelt on the flier with others in their textbook. Suggest that students look at other photographs of Roosevelt taken at the time of the campaign. How do they compare? What accounts for the differences? (N.B.: In 1921, F.D.R. was stricken with infantile paralysis. Upon his election as President, the press refrained from publishing photographs that

revealed the extent of the President's disability. As a result of this practice, some citizens were unaware that F.D.R. could not walk unaided.)

5. The 1940 and 1944 presidential campaigns were unique in U.S. history. Direct students to research the candidates and issues for each campaign and to write a summary of each election.
6. Discuss with students the advantages and disadvantages of a two-term presidency. Ask them to consider carefully how being at war might affect their opinions.
7. Ask students to imagine that they are presidential candidates and to design campaign fliers like the Roosevelt flier, using their own names as the centerpiece.

From Social Education, February, 1984.

Reproduced from the collection of the Smithsonian Institution



"WET" OR "DRY"

"VOTE WET FOR MY SAKE!"
BREWER
"VOTE DRY FOR MINE!"

Shall the Mothers and Children be Sacrificed to the Financial Greed of the Liquor Traffic?

IT IS UP TO YOU, VOTER, TO DECIDE

VOTE DRY

1. Ask students to choose "Wet" or "Dry" and write an argument in support of candidacy involving that issue.

2. Direct students to research the Prohibition Party in Michigan (or in United States).

3. Students can research the "Wet" and "Dry" presidential candidates of 1928 and draw conclusions pertaining to the results of that election year.

PROPAGANDA

Discuss propaganda techniques with students. Why is it used? Who uses it? Help them to see less obvious ways that propaganda is used. Have them do the following activity:

Propaganda Techniques Exercise

From the following selections, list the various propaganda techniques which you are able to find:

"We are not afraid to fight...We are not going to sit back and watch one of the Republican candidates smugly attempt to lift himself above and beyond his party, meanwhile holding hands with the Vice-hatchetman of the Republican Party who, without interference from Gettysburg, charges twenty years of treason to the Democrats..."

"That kind of double-faced campaign--the Vice-hatchetman slinging slander and spreading half-truths while the top man peers down the green fairways of indifference--will not be tolerated by the Democratic party."

"The Democratic party is guilty of aggravated assault and battery upon the forgotten farm folk of America. It is willfully and wantonly to hold the laboring man of America in sustained contempt. The natural resources of the country have been made the subject to bargain-counter giveaways. Family incomes have decreased, and our foreign policy has been streaked with indecisions and blurs, and with brink-of-war disclosures..."

Discuss answers in class. Have them find examples in newspapers and bring to class for discussion.

FACTS, OPINIONS AND VALUES

The following are statements you might hear or read. Some are facts, some opinions, some values. Mark the appropriate column.

Statement	Fact	Opinion	Value
1. Republicans make better presidents than democrats			
2. Power corrupts			
3. Large sums of money are spent on presidential campaigns			
4. Individual freedom is important			
5. The Soviet Union is out to bury us			
6. A U.S. President can serve only 2 terms			
7. The electoral college should be abolished			
8. Most politicians are crooks			
9. Presidents should be in charge of making foreign policy			
10. Everyone should vote			

A class discussion should follow where the distinction between fact and opinion; opinion and value is made clear to the students. A fact can be proven by evidence and most people would agree. An opinion is one person's judgment or belief about something which the person generally assumes is true. A value is a person's belief about right behavior -- what is right or wrong, good or bad.

Following the discussion, have the students find statements from candidate speeches, interviews and discussions. They will list the statements, the source, and then state if each statement is a fact, opinion, or value. The next day, students can share their findings and discuss any disagreements.

FACTS AND OPINIONS

Bears vs. Lions

Here are two stories about one football game that might have been written in a school newspaper.

BEARS EASILY WHIP LIONS, 35-28

Last night the Bears and Lions played a game that was really over by the end of the first half. By halftime, the Bears had built up a 35-0 lead. In the second half, the Bears relaxed and took it easy. The only points that the Lions could score came on four touchdowns in the last half. The Bears looked like a strong team and were in control of the entire game.

LIONS' POWER NEARLY UPSETS BEARS

Last night the Lions completely outplayed the Bears in the second half and nearly won the game. The Lions' magnificent rally barely fell short as the Bears eked out a 35-28 victory. The Lions made several costly mistakes in the first half and found themselves behind 35-0 at halftime. In the second half, the Lions scored four touchdowns good for 28 points while the Bears were held scoreless. The end of the game found the Bears hanging on, desperately trying to keep the powerful Lions from scoring the tying touchdown.

Below are six statements about the game. If a statement is true according to both newspaper stories, circle the word "Agree." If the stories disagree about the statement, circle the word "Disagree."

1. Agree Disagree The score was 35-28.

2. Agree Disagree The Bears were the better team.

3. Agree Disagree The Lions were the better team.

4. Agree Disagree The score at halftime was 35-0.

5. Agree Disagree The Lions scored 28 points in the second half.

6. Agree Disagree It was easy for the Bears to beat the Lions.

ISSUES

Facts and Opinions

Divide the class into four groups, assigning two groups to prepare editorials in support of capital punishment and two groups to oppose it. Distribute copies of the statements about capital punishment and instruct the students that each group is to work all of these facts into their editorials.

After the students have had time to prepare their editorials, ask a spokesperson to read each group's editorial to the whole class. The other students should note how each group used the statements.

Invite the students to compare their efforts. Obviously they reached different conclusions, because they were assigned differing positions. Are there instances when the same statement could be useds to support both sides of the issue? Give examples. Can we be confident that everyone will agree on an issue if given the same facts?

RESOURCE PERSONS

This is an appropriate lesson for inviting to the class someone from the news media. If you have had someone before, they could be asked back, or you could have someone different; the editor of a newspaper (or someone else from there), or someone who deals with writing editorials or choosing news stories for radio or television. Someone who deals with the news media could also be helpful--someone from a public relations firm or someone who dealt with the media while working on a campaign. If you want a different point of view, you might invite a journalism teacher form the high school or any nearby college or university to discuss with the students the problem of writing editorials about emotional issues.

The resource person could be asked to enter into the student discussion evaluating and comparing their editorials. Then this person could discuss with students and answer their questions about how editorials are written and where they get their information.

USEFUL RESOURCE MATERIALS

IPLE Voter Education Booklet, Issues Analysis Center, Subtle Bias in the Media, 20 Delsea Dr., Rt. #4, Box 209, Sewell, New Jersey 08080.

Adapted from Practical Politics, Ohio Department of State, Ohio Department of Education.

HANDOUT FOR ISSUES: FACTS AND OPINIONS

Statements About Capital Punishment:

1. Capital punishment deters others from committing serious crimes.

2. There are more capital crimes in those jurisdictions that have capital punishment than there are in those that do not.

3. The Bible calls for "an eye for an eye."

4. Capital punishment is imposed unevenly, falling more heavily on minority groups and the poor.

5. If a criminal is convicted of a serious crime, the state should not be burdened with having to support that criminal for life, as would happen if life sentences replaced capital punishment.

6. Capital punishment prevents the possibility of escape or parole on the part of dangerous criminals.

7. If capital punishment is allowed, there is always the possibility that an innocent person will be executed.

8. Capital punishment is the same thing as murder committed by the government.

9. Capital punishment is "cruel and unusual punishment," which is not allowed by the U. S. Constitution.

10. Those who are executed are hardened criminals and are no loss to society.

11. The possibility of capital punishment forces plea bargaining because prosecutors know that juries are reluctant to convict anyone of a crime that will involve the death penalty.

12. We need the death penalty to stop violent crime, especially against police and public figures.

13. Society has a right to punish evil-doers in proportion to the seriousness of their crimes.

VALUE QUESTIONNAIRE - ELECTIONS

Where do you Stand?

Directions

Read the statements below carefully. Decide the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Circle your opinion on the scale below each statement. A -5 means you absolutely disagree, a +5 means you absolutely agree, an "0" means your opinion is balanced between agree and disagree. Be prepared to discuss your opinions with the rest of the class.

1. During an election period the use of public opinion polls should be outlawed because they influence the masses of people to vote a certain way.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

2. Most young people (18-25) vote as a block on most issues.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

3. A law should be passed compelling eligible voters to vote in state and national elections.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

4. There is no place for third parties in the American political scene.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

5. There is a need to dissolve the Democratic and Republican parties and form two new parties along the lines of liberal and conservative.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

6. A National tax should be used to finance all federal elections as well as party operations.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

7. There should be a party platform adopted every year.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

8. Because most people over the age of 80 are usually out of touch with what is going on they should not be allowed to vote.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

9. Each state should be allowed to determine who should be allowed to vote within their state, without interference from the national government.

   -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

DEVELOPING AND EVALUATING CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Campaign brochures and ads serve a very useful purpose to the voter. It is important that one realize that campaign brochures are biased. They are meant to convince the voter to agree and vote for the side of the issue that the authors of the brochure advocate. With this in mind, the voters can realize to what extent they want to be convinced by the printed or broadcast information.

Important ingredients of any piece of campaign literature include:

1. The name of the committee.
2. Identification of the issue that is being presented.
3. Several reasons why the voter should agree with the position being presented in the brochure.

ACTIVITIES

1. In a previous activity, four groups of students wrote editorials on the issue of capital punishment. Combine the two groups that wrote favorable editorials into one committee and the two groups that wrote unfavorable editorials into a second committee. Each committee is to produce three pieces of campaign literature, each to be directed at a particular population. Students should be reminded of the factors listed in the background information as they complete this exercise.
2. When all campaign literature has been produced, each committee should have the opportunity to evaluate the opposition's literature. Criticism should be based upon the factors listed in the background information. (Note: As an alternative, a resource person might be asked to evaluate the campaign literature in terms of the purposes and audiences for which it was developed.)

RESOURCE PERSONS

Several kinds of people would be appropriate resource persons for this lesson. A campaign chairperson; the person who was in charge of media or public relations for a campaign; a candidate--or a panel of 2 to 4 persons--would be very helpful in helping the teacher and the students gain insights into why campaign literature is put together the way it is.

HELPFUL HINTS

A piece of campaign literature, for the purpose of this lesson, could be a radio ad, a TV ad, a newspaper ad, or a campaign brochure.

USEFUL RESOURCE MATERIAL

IPLE Voter Education Booklet, Campaign Activities, 20 Delsea Dr., Rt. #4, Box 209, Sewell, New Jersey 08080.

League of Women Voters: Pick a Candidate (pamphlet); Issues, Not Images (pamphlet); Making An Issue Of It: The Campaign Handbook

ELECTION
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CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

Campaign Materials

Have students collect as many campaign materials as they can. Contact could be made with the campaign headquarters for brochures, buttons, car stickers, and posters. After the collection, the students may display them in the classroom.

Questions for classroom discussion:

1. How effective are campaign materials in providing information about the candidate and/or issues?
2. How important are campaign materials in determining the success of a political campaign?
3. How important are radio and television advertising in a political campaign? Why or why not?
4. Can you make any predictions about the results of an election by examining the campaign materials and radio and television advertising? Why or why not?

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ACTIVITY

Read and discuss the following article, "Oh, Shut Up," by P. J. O'Rourke.

1. Do you think he is overly critical of the candidates' speeches? Discuss answers.

2. Find examples of your own using newspapers, television, and newsmagazines.

3. O'Rourke quotes usually out of context. What difference might this make?

4. What point is O'Rourke making in the article?

A Measured Assessment of This Year's Campaign Rhetoric

OH, SHUT UP

By P. J. O'Rourke

P. J. O'Rourke, former editor-in-chief of the *National Lampoon*, is the author of *Modern Manners: Etiquette for Very Rude People* (Dell).

If the campaign speech had been invented this election year, it would be hailed as a breakthrough in democracy--as a far better way to learn about a candidate's ideas than thirty-second TV spots or acrimonious gabfests passing for debates. At last! A simple, intelligent way to learn what our politicians propose: have them stand up and tell us. However, as a nation we are willing to do practically anything for our political candidates except listen to their speeches. And for good reason. The speeches stink.

Eighteen speeches by the three men who have been the most prominent 1984 Presidential candidates are examined below: five speeches by Walter Mondale, five by Gary Hart, and eight by Ronald Reagan. Analysis is limited strictly to printed texts. Every attempt has been made to remain ideologically neutral. And only four basic critical questions are asked: 1) Is the speech substantive? 2) Does it make sense? 3) Is it consistent? 4) Is it English?

Jesse Jackson has been left out of the critique. His style of speaking differs too greatly from the other candidates'. Jackson normally does not use a text. His oratory depends for effect on nuance, gesture, and audience response. This is not to say his speeches are better or worse than the others. But some medium other than print--video tape, perhaps--would be necessary to evaluate them.

The speeches criticized here were provided by the respective campaign committees or, in the case of President Reagan, by the White House press office. Presumably the texts were scrutinized and slips of tongue and mind deleted. Of course, they got help writing these declamations. But this is no excuse. They are free to dispense with that help. They gave these speeches, put their names on them, and nowhere blamed anyone else for their composition. In other words, this is the candidates putting their best feet in their mouths.

The speeches are remarkably alike. Read these three quotations and see if you can guess who's saying which:

1) ...Americans have always believed that man can shape the future.

2) People must be part of our planning.

3) A President is our leader.

It's (1) Hart; (2) Reagan; and (3) Mondale. Not that it matters. Empty phrases like these are a staple in all the texts. The empty phrases fall into several categories. There is the tautological:

> Only better is better.
>
> Hart

> There's nothing more basic to the principles of America than that we are in this country and in this society together.
>
> Mondale

The grossly self-evident:

> To get the economy going again will take people.
>
> Mondale

> Families stand at the center of society...
>
> Reagan

And the meaningless--which can be achieved by using vague words in vague ways:

> We speak about progress but only mouth political conventions--conventions which tell us there are boundaries to our thoughts...
>
> Hart

Then there are the "I hardly need say" sayings. This is when politicians begin sounding like someone's great aunt on an Orange Pekoe bender:

> We must see the world as it really is.
>
> Mondale

> We must move beyond the solutions of the past which do not work.
>
> Hart

> Our National Parks are the envy of the world.
>
> Reagan

I have postulated two rules for empty phrases in case you'd like to make some of your own: 1) If the antithetical statement is absurd, then the original statement didn't need to be made.

You can test this by taking key words in the passage under consideration and substituting their antonyms. For instance, these two examples from better American orators of the past show that their ringing phrases were not empty:

> We have something to fear besides fear itself.
>
> Ask what your country can do for you.

Both are arguable positions. But try Walter Mondale's "We need a people's Democrat who believes in strength..." The opposite of that is, "We need an animals' Democrat who believes in flab."

2) If a statement could have believably been made by Mussolini, Gene McCarthy, Mao, and Papa Doc Duvalier--not to mention Mondale, Hart, and Reagan--the statement is probably blather:

> Nothing will stop us because the future is made for (insert appropriate nation).

> The loss of even one of our splendid (insert appropriate nationality) is an enormous price to pay.

> I am seeking the (insert appropriate political office) to restore to our nation a renewed sense of purpose.

> The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history.

The first three are Mondale, Reagan, and Hart, respectively. The fourth actually is Mao.

The best empty phrases, however, defy analysis because they defy comprehension of any kind--e.g., Gary Hart: "I am running for the Presidency because I believe the Democratic Party and the country as a whole need a new generation of leadership to prevent this nation from continuing its backward slide into the future."

A candidate's empty phrases are bad but perhaps excusable. After all, there is an ancient tradition of palaver in political oratory. Cicero, in his speech contra Verras, addressed the Roman Senate with such lines as, "Day and night you cannot fail to remember your courageous father, your wise grandfather, the noble father of your wife."

What is more annoying than empty language is clumsy use of the language. It's sometimes fun to listen to bad music, but it's never fun to listen to bad musicians.

Reagan says of Central America, "the crisis is serious," and he proclaims December 17 through 23 as the horribly named "National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week." Mondale tells the California Democratic Convention he never thought he "would see the sting of the grapes of wrath again living in our lives." He says, "There is a reason why over half of the American people don't even bother to vote anymore. You have your reasons; I have mine." He says of the Equal Rights Amendment, "I will get that thing ratified in the part of the Constitution where it's supposed to be," and argues that the Democratic Party has a "special responsibility to reach out and help lighten the burden of the injured, the oppressed, the discriminated (sic) in this country." And Hart announces, "The gender gap isn't a signal for Democrats to sit on their hands about women's equality," adding that he's angry because "the future of my children has become a political trophy instead of a national goal."

The candidates' speeches are primitive. The easiest way to add emphasis and urgency to speech, as any child knows, is through repetition. Mondale strains so hard at getting a word to appear twice in one sentence that he ends up saying he admires scam artists: "I learned it wasn't enough to respect people on the make; we also had to respect people who couldn't make it." When Hart repeats words, he loses track of what they mean: "Women can no longer be kept down, paid down, and let down by the male population of America." When women are "paid down" does someone stand on a chair and drop money on their heads or make a down payment on them or what? In the same speech Hart asks the audience, "How has progress been achieved when women are half free, half paid, half in poverty, and have yet to get their fair share of political power?" Could it be that Hart is punning? It would seem an inappropriate moment for that. And nowhere else in these speeches does Hart attempt levity.

The candidates do occasionally venture a simile or metaphor. In Gary Hart's case the results are, well, mixed. "This doesn't imply any less concern about the way the pie is divided, but it does declare a fundamental new emphasis on making the pie grow again." Or worse than mixed: "These crude reworkings of the Domino Theory fall of their own weight"--a metaphor doing all it can to validate the argument it is supposed to refute.

Mondale proclaims that because of Hubert Humphrey's leadership, "we did indeed walk into the bright sunshine of human rights." (Even this lame flourish is borrowed from Humphrey himself.) And Reagan says we have "an economy whose engines are humming with open track ahead."

"Engines humming" and "open track ahead" are Americanisms of a kind beloved by the one candidate whose speeches have a semblance of personal style. Reagan's folksiness, however, seems the result of either condescension or simplemindedness. Witness this explanation of the James Watt mess: "Sometimes the one who straightens out a situation uses up so many brownie points he or she is no longer the best one to carry out the duties of day-to-day management." Or, "America is enjoying one humdinger of an economic recovery." Or, "Tragically, too many in Washington have been asking us to swallow a shopper..." No style at all would be an improvement.

The candidates have individual as well as collective problems in their speeches. In a word: Mondale is incredible. Hart is incomprehensible. And Reagan is illogical.

Mondale makes a great many promises. Some of his promises are substantive. He would "repeal or delay the indexation of taxes," "cancel the Clinch River Breeder Reactor," "kill the MX and the B-1," and "stop production of poison nerve gas." Some are vague. He would "bolster entrepreneurs and small businesses," "pull labor and management together," "restore our global leadership," "help our teachers make this the best-educated generation in history," "undo this crazy Reaganomics," and "bring those interest rates down," "disarm those time bombs ticking away in our toxic waste dumps," and "be fair again." And some of his promises are silly: "By the end of this decade, I want to point to the Supreme Court I appointed, and say, 'Justice is in good hands.'" This would require a new Constitution. "I would convene an international economic summit conference, and I would urge all the major economies of the world, including our own, to begin a policy of economic growth that would permit expanded trade, the re-employment of millions of workers, and relief for the vulnerable economies of the world." In other words, he would hold a sort of international economic air guitar contest.

But it's no particular vow that breeds incredulity; it's the great accumulation of pledges without any explanation of how they'd be put into force. Mondale seems to recognize the problem, but aggravates it with a poor defense. After making twenty-five distinct promises to the delegates at the Florida State Democratic Convention, Mondale asks, "Where would America be without promises? Where would America be if Franklin Roosevelt hadn't promised to put millions of Americans back to work?... Where would we be if John F. Kennedy hadn't promised to get this nation moving again? Where would we be if Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson hadn't promised civil rights to this country?

Where indeed? In fact, we'd be right where we are now. Where we'd be without the actions of Franklin Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, and Lyndon Johnson is, of course, another matter.

Mondale's credibility is further undermined by a tendency to overstatement:

> ...there are hundreds of thousands of decent American families living in their cars, roaming aimlessly around this country...
>
> There has never been such a comprehensive onslaught against social justice in modern times as that which followed from the adoption of Reaganomics.

This overstatement is combined with a touch of vainglory:

> I've traveled this nation more than any living American.
>
> All my public career, I've been working on the problems of children.
>
> I've spent my life in education, science, and research...

That egocentricity sometimes dissolves in frivolity:

> Right now, today, on this 100th Anniversary of our Civil Service, I would try as President to stop the ridiculing and deriding of the services of millions of decent Americans who are public servants and honor them for their work and their service to all of us.

He'd pass a law against making fun of the Post Office.

Mondale doesn't lie. Only once in these five speeches do I catch him in an outright untruth. (In his address to the Iowa Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, Mondale says he's honored to follow "the eighteen brilliant speakers who preceded me.") Still, the overall impression gained from reading Mondale's speeches is of near maniacal trothplighting and consequent unreliability. This is a shame because, buried in his Santa's list for good little voters, Mondale has a rational and heartfelt point to make: America should be a fit place for everyone, not just the lucky, rich, and able. Too bad the message is lost.

Gary Hart tries to be more substantive. Sometimes he succeeds. In his speech, "Making Our Military Work," Hart proposes that we adopt the British regimental system to give soldiers greater pride in their units and greater investment in the well-being of their comrades. He makes a case against Pentagon staff quagmires with this persuasive if not completely accurate analogy: "In an industry, bureaucratic behavior leads to Penn Central and Chrysler. In Government, it leads to massive spending with little effect. In war, it leads to defeat."

Hart's speech titled "National Industrial Policy: A New Shape and Weight" is a complete mess. In outlining his industrial plan, Hart says, "the creation of a national industrial policy should not require the federal government to develop a line-by-line blueprint for the future," and he argues against establishing "heavy-handed government planning agencies." He then proposes a "Reconstruction Finance Corporation" and a "new Department of Trade." He promotes his and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's "Rebuilding of America" bill, saying it would give "the first formal accounting of our need for major investment in public infrastructure." He says, "We need a process initiated at the highest level of government...to bring about the industry-by-industry agreements on modernization and growth." And he calls for "a new comprehensive program of economic security for every American worker."

Now, all these may be beneficial plans. They may even be possible. But it's hard to see how they can be put forward in good conscience by the man who says we need "a new economics which goes beyond the traditional Democratic assumption that the only way to make our economy grow is through massive government spending."

The fog of Hart's ideas is thickened by ignorant and silly language:

> We must envision and promote substantive progress in the region...
>
> These are my core beliefs.
>
> We must make equality for women and minorities the truth, not a concession.
>
> The world is defined by what we know. The status quo. Yet the tide of history flows against us. (A paragraph, complete as quoted, which pops up apropos of nothing in the middle of his address to NOW.)
>
> This isn't a time to be a liberal or a conservative. It's a time to rethink.

Or maybe just think in the first place.

Reagan does not refute himself. But he makes it easy for others to do so. His speeches are rife with logical fallacy. Reagan's faults of reasoning are indeed, so distinct that ancient proper names exist for them. Many were identified by Aristotle more than two thousand years ago.

To take a simple example, Reagan mentions the christening of Lech Walesa's daughter. He says seven thousand Poles attended the christening, "expressing their belief that the family remains the foundation of freedom." This can be put into the form of syllogism thus:

Major Premise: christenings are held to express a belief that the family remains the foundation of freedom.

Minor Premise: seven thousand Poles saw a christening.

Conclusion: seven thousand Poles believe that the family remains the foundation of freedom.

This is the fallacy of post hoc ergo propter hoc or, perhaps in this case, ad hoc ergo propter hoc. (And--though it is not the purpose of this article to criticize beliefs and assumptions--the Major Premise is demonstrably untrue.)

A more serious example of a post hoc fallacy appears in the same speech. Reagan says, "...three times as many families are headed by single parents today as in 1960." And then says, "...there is no question that many well-intentioned Great Society-type programs contributed to family break-ups, welfare dependency, and a large increase in births out of wedlock." But the fact that one thing happened after another does not mean the first caused the second.

Reagan uses the technique of circular argument (called begging the question, or petitio principii) in his speech on Central America: "... the United States has a vital interest in preventing a Communist Central American because if our own borders are threatened, then our ability to meet our commitments to protect peace elsewhere in the world...would be significantly weakened." And hence our borders would be threatened. This kind of logical progression is sometimes called a Vicious Circle, and not without reason.

Two fallacies much favored by politicians and other misleading people are Arguing from a General Rule to a Special Case and Arguing from a Special Case to a General Rule. Reagan commits both.

The fallacy of the General Rule can be hard to determine. There is nothing invalid about arguing from a general rule to a particular case. It's all a matter deciding which cases are special. All-out atomic war, having never yet happened and having little chance of happening more than once, probably qualifies. If so, this statement is bunk:

> History teaches that wars begin when governments believe the price of aggression is cheap. To keep the peace, we and our allies must be strong enough to convince any potential aggressor that war could bring no benefit, only disaster.

The fallacy of the Special Case is less defensible:

> If we do (withdraw U.S. troops from Lebanon), we'll be sending one signal to terrorists everywhere: They can gain by waging war against innocent people.

> We do not threaten the Soviet Union...We proved this thirty-five years ago when we had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, and could have tried to dominate the world. But we didn't.

A similar argument would be: Germany had greater military strength than France in 1910 but did not attack. Therefore Germany did not attack France in 1914.

Reagan also uses fallacious reasoning in another, more slippery way. He condemns Syrian reaction to American reconnaissance flights in Lebanon by saying, "Our reconnaissance flights have only one purpose...to give the greatest possible protection to our troops." This is the fallacy of Equivocation. "The greatest possible protection for our troops" seems to mean, in the context of this speech, to mean "taking some pictures." But it could mean (and the Syrians apparently think it does mean) "eliminating the enemy."

There is Equivocation again in the statement, "Over the last ten years, the Soviets devoted twice as much of their gross national product to military expenditures as the United States." The Soviet gross national product is different (and smaller) than ours. This is neither a fair nor an illuminating way to compare military spending.

When in full cry Reagan leaps the bounds of reason entirely. In his speech on Soviet-American relations he tells a hypothetical story of a Russian couple, Ivan and Anya, who find themselves "sharing a shelter from the rain with Jim and Sally, and there was no language barrier to keep them from getting acquainted." Ivan and Anya and their American counterparts discuss their children, livelihoods, ambitions, hobbies, and "making ends meet." When the rain is over they say friendly farewells and "might even have decided that they were all going to get together for dinner some evening soon." From this fable of his own manufacture, Reagan draws the conclusion that Jim, Sally, Ivan, and Anya "would have proven people don't cause wars." Is it mice? Is it bunnies?

I don't know what the President's mind is doing, but mine boggles.

These candidates have a crying need for a good--even fair--liberal arts education. One longs to send Hart back to college so he can get it out of his system, send Reagan to college in the first place, and lock Mondale up in a rudimentary speech class with a sock in his mouth.

Gary Hart says it best. In what must be the most unattractive campaign promise ever made, he states: "We will all have to go to school every day." O.K., Mondale, Hart, and Reagan--you first.

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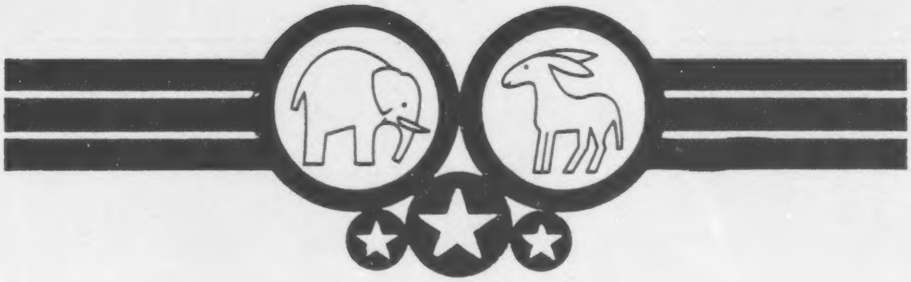

THE DOUBLESPEAK AWARD

The National Council of Teachers of English Committee on Public Doublespeak, consisting of some 35 scholars in English, rhetoric, and semantics throughout the country, has been making its Doublespeak Award annually since 1974. The award is an ironic "tribute" to American public figures who have perpetrated language that is grossly unfactual, deceptive, evasive, euphemistic, confusing, or self-contradictory. (The term "doublespeak," which has found its way into recent dictionaries as a blanket term for confusing or deceptive language, is a combination of the concepts of "newspeak" and "doublethink" in George Orwell's novel 1984.) Following Orwell's intention of exposing inhumane, propagandistic uses of language, the Committee in recent years has restricted the award to misuses of language with pernicious social or political consequences, which we believe are more worthy of censure than the kind of garden-variety jargon, gobbledegook, or solecisms emphasized by many current critics of language.

Throughout the year, committee members (along with growing numbers of outside teachers, journalists, and other followers of the awards) submit nominations for the award to William Lutz, Department of English, Rutgers University, Camden, New Jersey 08102. The deadline for nominations is September 15. The year's nominees are then sent out for a vote by Committee members, and the winner and runners-up are announced at the NCTE convention Thanksgiving week.

ORWELL WOULD APPROVE

As could have been expected, President Reagan has been chosen the winner of the National Council of Teachers of English "Doublespeak Award" for 1983 for his well publicized naming of the MX missile as "Peacekeeper."

Less publicized, but very much in the same camp, was the runner-up--a description of the Titan II missile as "a very large, potentially disruptive re-entry system" by Col. Frank Horton, commander of the Grand Forks (North Dakota) Air Force Base.

Prof. William Lutz of Rutgers University, chairman of the council's Committee on Public Doublespeak, notes that the Titan II has the largest megatonnage of any U.S. missile and has some 630 times the explosive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. "That certainly makes the Titan missile and warhead disruptive, potentially or otherwise," Lutz dryly notes.

The committee is already gathering plenty of candidates for the 1984 award. "Build-down" (or even "double build-down")--Doublespeak for arms reduction--"is very much in the running," says Lutz. But, he adds, it may be hard to top the Pentagon's description of the U.S. invasion of Grenada as a "pre-dawn, vertical insertion."

-J.H.

From Common Cause Magazine, March/April, 1984.

Discuss with students the following points:

1. Do you think it made a difference to the public that the MX missile was called a peacekeeper?
2. There are many, many examples of doublespeak. How does this affect public opinion?

ACTIVITY

1. Have students collect other doublespeak examples from newspapers and news magazines.
2. Have students make up doublespeak terms that have to do with school, other names for the cafeteria, study hall, principal, etc.

CONVENTION

SOME EXAMPLES OF DOUBLESPEAK

The examples of doublespeak listed here have not been made up. Item 36, for example, is from Congressional testimony given by Alan Greenspan when he was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. What this list demonstrates is that doublespeak is infectious, and we need to choose our words carefully so that the language we use really communicates and does not merely pretend to communicate.

DOUBLESPEAK	TRANSLATION
1. disadvantaged	1. poor, black, or ignorant
2. low income	2. poverty
3. sub-standard housing	3. slum, ghetto
4. inner city	4. slum, ghetto
5. selected out	5. fired
6. non-retained	6. fired
7. released	7. fired
8. for your convenience	8. for our convenience
9. encore telecast	9. re-run
10. terminal living	10. dying
11. pre-owned	11. used
12. previously owned	12. used
13. eliminate redundancies in the human resources area	13. fire employees
14. urban transportation specialist	14. car driver, bus driver
15. therapeutic misadventure	15. malpractice
16. negative deficit	16. profit
17. vertical transportation corps	17. elevator operators
18. experienced car	18. used car
19. automotive internist	19. automobile mechanic
20. correctional facility	20. prison
21. change of equipment	21. something broke down
22. advanced downward adjustments	22. budget cuts
23. genuine imitation leather	23. fake leather
24. virgin vinyl	24. vinyl
25. dentures	25. false teeth
26. inoperative statement	26. lie
27. funeral director	27. undertaker
28. the best orange juice there is	28. it's the same as any other orange juice
29. 50% better	29. better than what?
30. bathroom tissue (or just tissue)	30. toilet paper
31. tinting, rinsing	31. dyeing
32. occasional irregularity	32. constipation
33. senior citizen	33. old person
34. memorial park	34. cemetery
35. nervous wetness	35. sweat

Some Examples of Doublespeak

36.	It is a tricky problem to find the particular calibration and timing that would be appropriate to stem the acceleration in risk premiums created by falling incomes without prematurely aborting the decline in the inflation-generated risk premiums.	36.	? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
37.	home	37.	house
38.	homeowner's policy	38.	house insurance
39.	life insurance	39.	death insurance
40.	Internal Revenue Service	40.	tax collector
41.	mobile home	41.	house trailer
42.	mobile estate	42.	house trailer
43.	attitude adjustment hour	43.	cocktail hour
44.	job action	44.	strike
45.	grief therapist	45.	undertaker
46.	invest in	46.	buy, or spend
47.	coach (on an airplane)	47.	second-class
48.	indicate	48.	say
49.	inappropriate	49.	unlawful
50.	movement experiences	50.	sports
51.	district work period	51.	Congressional recess (House)
52.	nonlegislative period	52.	Congressional recess (House)
53.	body shaper	53.	girdle
54.	controller	54.	girdle
55.	form persuader	55.	girdle
56.	control garment	56.	girdle
57.	behavior adjustment unit	57.	solitary confinement
58.	space planning	58.	overbooking airplane reservation
59.	impact attentuation devices	59.	oil drums placed around highway obstructions
60.	at this point in time	60.	now
61.	at that point in time	61.	then
62.	misspeak	62.	lie
63.	shortfall	63.	mistake in planning
64.	task force	64.	committee
65.	people expressways	65.	sidewalks
66.	volume variances from plan	66.	strikes
67.	candidate lacked a positive reference input	67.	public didn't like him
68.	activity boosters	68.	amphetamine pills
69.	pupil station	69.	school desk
70.	combat emplacement evacuator	70.	shovel
71.	incursion	71.	invasion
72.	civilian irregular defense soldier	72.	mercenary
73.	protective reaction strike	73.	bombing
74.	limited duration protective reactive strike	74.	bombing
75.	pre-emptive counterattack	75.	our side starts a war
76.	deliberate, unprovoked act of aggression	76.	other side starts a war

Some Examples of Doublespeak

77.	terminate with extreme prejudice	77.	execute
78.	resources control program	78.	poisoning
79.	incontinent ordinance	79.	bombs that fall on schools, etc.
80.	engage the enemy on all sides	80.	to be ambushed
81.	tactical redeployment	81.	retreat
82.	confrontation management	82.	riot control
83.	civil disorder	83.	riot
84.	destabilize a government	84.	illegally overthrow a legitimate government
85.	Defense Department	85.	War Department
86.	personal preservation flotation device	86.	life saver
87.	payload	87.	bomb load
88.	defoliation	88.	poison the vegetation
89.	nuclear warhead	89.	atomic bomb
90.	aerodynamic personnel decelerator	90.	parachute
91.	effective ordinance delivery	91.	bombs fell on the target
92.	revenue enhancement	92.	tax increase
93.	negative patient care outcome	93.	death
94.	pavement deficiency	94.	pothole
95.	price enhancement	95.	price increase
96.	energetic disassembly	96.	explosion
97.	rapid oxidation	97.	fire
98.	terminal episode	98.	death
99.	deaccession	99.	sell
100.	radiation enhancement device	100.	neutron bomb
101.	revenue excesses	101.	profit
102.	inventory shrinkage	102.	employee theft
103.	safety-related occurance	103.	accident
104.	period of accelerated negative growth	104.	recession
105.	dehire	105.	fire
106.	member of a career offender cartel	106.	gangster
107.	physically challenged	107.	handicapped
108.	compensation	108.	salary or wages
109.	enhance the efficiency of operations	109.	fire employees
110.	streamline field sales	110.	fire employees
111.	rationalization of marketing efforts	111.	fire employees
112.	take appropriate cost reduction actions	112.	fire employees
113.	deep chilled chickens	113.	frozen chickens
114.	advisory marketing representative	114.	salesman
115.	sales plan was too aggressive	115.	business is bad

Prepared By: William D. Lutz, Chair
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Urbana, IL 61801

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC DOUBLESPEAK

RECIPIENTS OF THE GEORGE ORWELL AWARD FOR DISTINGUISHED CONTRIBUTION TO HONESTY AND CLARITY IN PUBLIC LANGUAGE

The Orwell Award was established in 1974 to recognize each year a work which has made an outstanding contribution to the critical analysis of public discourse.

Orwell Award Winners:

1975	David Wise. The Politics of Lying. New York: Random House, 1973.
1976	Hugh Rank. Intensify/Downplay Approach.
1977	Walter Pinkus. (Reporter for the Washington Post) "One of those reporters for whom the term 'gadfly' truly applies. The government's attempt to slip the neutron bomb through, unnoticed, in an ERDA appropriations bill was deceptive--and it was caught because a methodical, patient journalist knew his job, knew the jargon."
1978	Sissela Bok. Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
1979	Erving Goffman. Gender Advertisements. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
1980	Sheila Harty. Hucksters in the Classroom. Washington, D.C.: Center for Study of Responsive Law, 1979.
1981	Dwight Bolinger. Language--The Loaded Weapon. New York: Longman, 1980.
1982	Stephen Hilgartner, Richard Bell, and Rory O'Connor. Nukespeak: Nuclear Language, Visions, and Mindset.
1983	Haig A. Bosmajian. The Language of Oppression. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983.

National Council of Teachers of English
Committee on Public Doublespeak
William D. Lutz, Chair
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ACTIVITIES FOR DOUBLESPEAK

From the National Council of Teachers of English

1. Give students three T.V. ads on the same or similar product and have them identify and compare them for:

   a. tone

   b. level of usage

   c. purpose--intent need specified

2. Doublespeak/Point of View

A student wrote critiques of 3 rock (pop) concerts he had seen - La Belle, Pointer Sisters, and James Brown. Of the three, he was most favorable about the first, but he had many reservations about the other two. The student revealed he was much more comfortable with the "glitter" audience of the first as opposed to the relatively straight, "with it " audiences of the second two. Had he been a critic, the first review would have been embellished with superlatives (hyperboles) while the second two described mediocre performers. (Two other reviews by students - of the three concerts - were dramatically opposed.)

3. After the class discusses the differences in the ways the various media present their messages, have students choose one major news event. Write an essay comparing the way TV news, the newspapers, and/or radio and/or newsmagazine covered the event. Consider the depth of coverage, elements used in coverage (i.e., visuals), slanting or editorializing or loaded words, selection of details and facts used, etc.

4. Select an editorial from a newspaper. Decide what the writer's thesis is, then analyze or mark and label the facts or examples the writer uses to support his opinion. Are these examples verifiable facts? emotional? relevant? convincing? cause-effect? etc.

5. Project:

Analyze one local TV newscaster (could be sportscaster, weatherperson, etc.); make it a long-range assignment with plenty of time to do it. Have THE CLASS devise a rating scale how THEY will rate the TV personality and keep encouraging student input until you have a workable rating scale they have devised.

Purpose:

Collect all evaluations and have 3 or 4 students collate the results actually counting the number of responses in each category (ex: how many rated the voice "friendly," how many "forceful," etc.). The purpose of tabulating the results is to present a total, collective CLASS ANALYSIS of ONE TV personality.

Follow Up:

Have students compare composite class analysis with their individual reactions, how it differed, why the class rated him/her the way they did, etc.

INSTANT JARGON GENERATOR

Select any sequence of three digits between 1 and 9 and read off the appropriate jargon expression from the three columns. For example, 5, 2, 8 gives "Instructional Simulation Subsystems," which sounds almost familiar.

	1	2	3
1.	Curricular	Research	Project
2.	Behavioral	Simulation	Validation
3.	Programmed	Implementation	Assessment
4.	Cognitive	Examination	Objectives
5.	Instructional	Participation	Resources
6.	Integrated	Syllabus	Concept
7.	Audio-visual	Innovation	Module
8.	Interdisciplinary	Communication	Subsystems
9.	Multi-media	Learning	Evaluation

courtesy of:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC DOUBLESPEAK
National Council of Teachers of English
1111 Kenyon Road
Urbana, IL 61801

MATCH THE TWO COLUMNS

A	B
_____disadvantaged	1. prison, jail
_____sub-standard housing	2. death
_____inner city	3. fire
_____low income	4. gangster, member of Mafia
_____pupil station	5. school desk
_____revenue enhancement	6. slum, ghetto
_____experienced car	7. girdle
_____encore telecast	8. poor, black, or ignorant
_____selected out	9. strike
_____rapid oxidation	10. re-run
_____negative deficit	11. budget cuts
_____member of a career offender cartel	12. house trailer
_____negative patient care outcome	13. tax increase
_____form persuader	14. cocktail hour
_____job action	15. fired
_____attitude adjustment hour	16. tax collector
_____Internal Revenue Service	17. profit
_____mobile estate	18. poor, poverty
_____correctional facility	19. used car
_____advanced downward adjustments	

Translate the following sentence:

> Nothing in life is certain except negative patient care outcome and revenue enhancement.

Resources for Teaching About Doublespeak

BOOKS:

Bolinger, Dwight. *Language: The Loaded Weapon*. Longman, 1980.

Dieterich, Daniel, ed. *Teaching About Doublespeak*. National Council of Teachers of English, 1976. (1111 Kenyon Road, Urbana, IL 61801).

Eschholz, Paul, *et al*. *Language Awareness*. 3rd ed. St. Martin's Press, 1982.

Harty, Sheila. *Hucksters in the Classroom*. Center for the Study of Responsive Law, Washington, DC, 1979.

Hayakawa, S.I. *Language in Thought and Action*. 4th ed. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.

Howe, Irving, ed. *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*. 2nd ed. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

Lewis, Flossie. *The Involuntary Conversion of a 727 or Crash!* Bay Area Writing Project (Univ. of Calif.), 1979.

Rank, Hugh, ed. *Language and Public Policy*. National Council of Teachers of English, 1974.

Rank, Hugh. *The Pitch*. Governors State University, Park Forest South, IL 60466.

Schrank, Jeffrey. *Deception Detection*. Beacon Press, 1975.

Schrank, Jeffrey. *Snap, Crackle and Popular Taste*. Dell, 1977.

Wise, David. *The Politics of Lying*. Vintage, 1973.

Wright, John, ed. *The Commercial Connection*. Delta Books, 1979.

FILMSTRIP KITS

Ad Analysis
Adbox
Doublespeak Box
Weasel Words

free catalog and ordering information from:
Learning Seed Co.
21250 Andover Road
Kildeer, IL 60047

PUBLICATIONS:

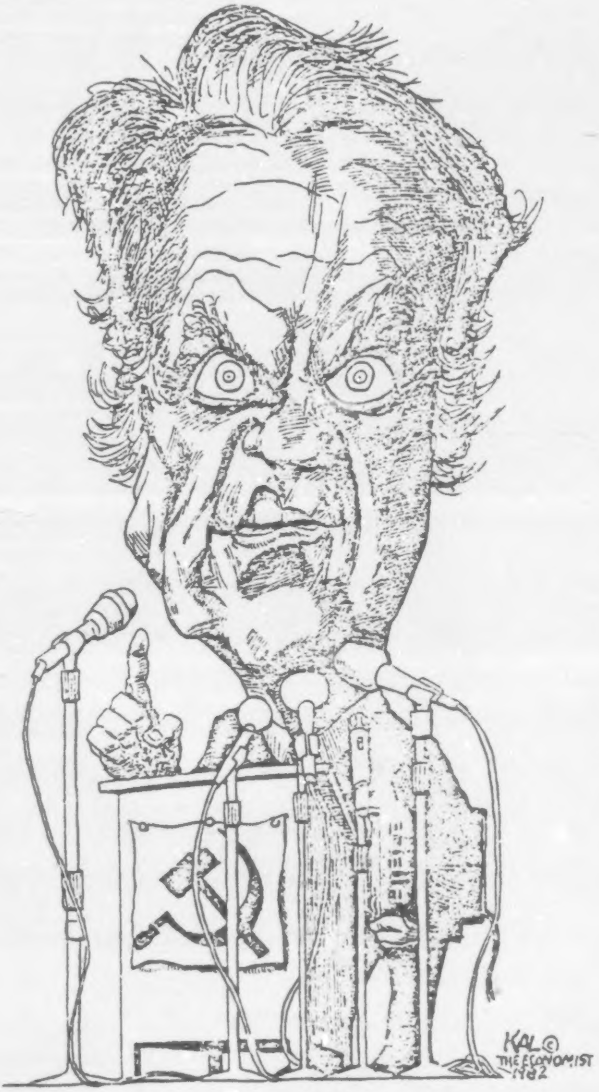
Quarterly Review of Doublespeak
$3 per year from NCTE, 1111 Kenyon Road, Urbana, IL 61801

PICTURING POLITICS: THE ART OF CARTOONING

Kevin Kallagher draws political cartoons for The Economist magazine, a prestigious weekly newsmagazine published in London. Named "Cartoonist of the Year" in Great Britain in 1982, Mr. Kallagher has recently been syndicated in the United States. In this interview with CLOSE UP, he discusses cartooning and its role in politics. He also provides insight into the way cartoonists work by describing several of his cartoons, reproduced here with his permission.

CLOSE UP: What should a good political cartoon do?

Kallagher: The effectiveness of the political cartoon is the fact that it is not writing. It is a drawing that is completely different from anything else on the editorial page. Because of that fact it is usually the first thing anybody reads on the editorial page. Sometimes it is the only thing that people read on that page. If you can convey a complete message in a drawing you will probably make a very strong impression because of the contrast with the stuff around it. What you want to try to do in a political cartoon is to get a complete message across.



REV. BILLY GRAHAM

There are several components in the ideal cartoon. One, the message. Two, in order to get the message across you need a vehicle. I have heard one person describe the vehicle as something with four wheels on it. One wheel is humor: Humor can help you get the message across. Another wheel is caricature: a good caricature can get the feeling across. A third wheel is the design of the drawing: An interesting design helps get the message across. And then the final wheel is proper use of wording. It's like telling a good joke, you have to phrase things just the right way in order to have the whole thing read properly.

CLOSE UP: Do you think you can say as much in a political cartoon as in a typical editorial?

Kallagher: A cartoon is sort of a knockout with a single punch rather than a long fight. In an editorial you can take any issue and break it down piece by piece and evaluate it, then gather all the information you have and come up with some conclusion. In contrast, a cartoon can sacrifice a lot of the small details to get a strong idea across. That perhaps is where the power of the cartoon lies. Its strength is in saying one thing.

CLOSE UP: How much does a cartoonist need to know about politics to be a good cartoonist?

Kallagher: That probably depends on who you are working for. If you are working for a paper where the audience is not politically sophisticated or is not interested in politics you don't need to know a lot about it. It is also very easy up to a certain level to hide your lack of knowledge of politics by making funny drawings. It's like Bob Hope or Johnny Carson making political jokes. They're not making insightful political jokes but they use politics as a scene. A lot of people can do that, but when you get more sophisticated you must know a lot about politics. I think that the more you know about politics the better cartoonist you are. You can find some people like Jeff MacNelly who started working for a small town paper that nobody ever knew and within a couple of years was one of the most famous cartoonists in the country, mainly because he knew his politics and it came through in his cartoons.

CLOSE UP: How powerful is somebody like Jeff MacNelly?

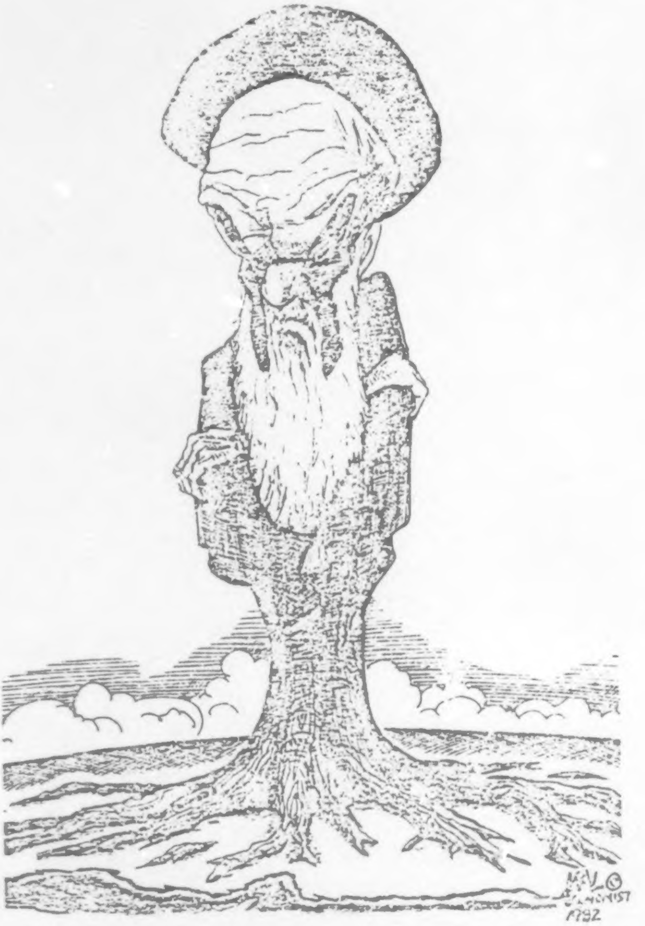
Kallagher: Most cartoonists will agree that cartoons have no power whatsoever. The funny thing, though, is that everybody who watches cartoons think they have a tremendous amount of power. Historically, there have been times when cartoons have had a great effect. The father of American political cartooning, Thomas Nast, was almost personally responsible for the downfall of Tammany Hall and Boss Tweed. Nixon just hated the way that Herblock (the cartoonist for the Washington Post) used to draw him with a five o'clock shadow. Nixon almost had an obsession with Herblock's portrayal of him. So a cartoonist can have a grinding effect on a politician and perhaps on how other people view him.

CLOSE UP: The caricature of Billy Graham struck me as one for which you need to know the story. What were you trying to say in that caricature?

Kallagher: That caricature is an interesting one because I wanted to say a lot more and The Economist edited it out. Originally I was going to have a dissident chained to the platform as he would be to a cell in a prison. The idea is that Billy Graham went sort of wide-eyed and naive to the Soviet Union and came out spouting about good feelings between religious people there and the religious people in America, more or less ignoring some things right under his nose. So I wanted to transmit the idea that you had these contrasts and that you had a basically naive person who had terrible things going on right under his nose. When you look at the cartoon your eyes are drawn straight to his eyes. As your eyes drift away from his eyes you become painfully aware that he is staring right at you and missing anything that might be around him. It probably would have worked a lot stronger if as your eyes drifted down toward the podium you would have seen a dissident sitting right next to the Bible. So I think that the cartoon, although it is a good drawing and the face is good, lost a lot of what it could have said had it been completed properly.

CLOSE UP: Let's look at the one of the Ayatollah Khomeni. It's not a funny cartoon; it's more thought provoking. What was it you were trying to convey about the Ayatollah?

Kallagher: In the Khomeni cartoon, I was trying to convey that Islam is firmly rooted in Iran and it is spreading to neighboring countries. That could cause problems particularly, of course, in Iraq, but also in other Arab countries and places like Pakistan. So the message is that he is a firmly rooted menacing figure and also that he is the center of a whole system that is beginning to raise its ugly head in other areas as well.



AYATOLLA KHOMEINI

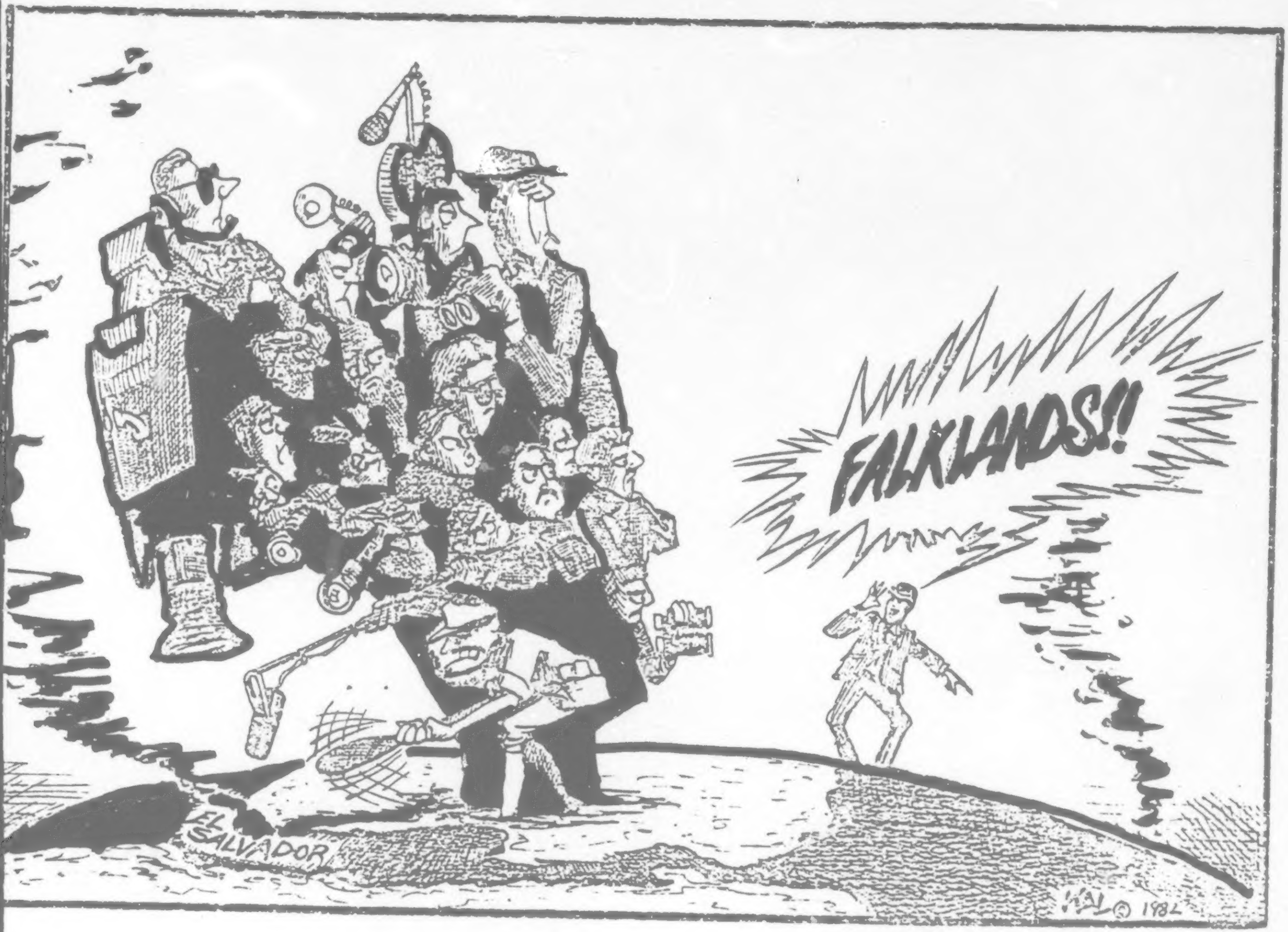
CLOSE UP: The whole thing seems to convey a sense of power and stubbornness.

Kallagher: Exactly.

CLOSE UP: The Falklands drawing is a cartoon, whereas the other two are caricatures. What were you trying to say there, and what makes it work?

Kallagher: In this one I was trying to get the message across that the media quickly shifted their attention from El Salvador to the Falkland Islands. At the beginning of the Falkland Islands crisis, the media that had been totally concerned with El Salvador all of a sudden turned their heads to the Falklands, and did so quite happily. I tried to make that work by giving the sense of the media as a massive block preying on El Salvador and El Salvador as this little thing for the western media to play with. So you want them to look big and menacing hovering over El Salvador. I portrayed El Salvador as a smoldering little mass and then drew a parallel between the smoke of the smoldering country and the smoke of the fleet going down toward the Falklands. That way your eye is caught between two extremes. Then the final trick of the whole cartoon is that your eye probably looks at the cartoon for 5 or 10 seconds before discovering the little character hidden underneath the media trying to heat up El Salvador again to get back everybody's attention. You started in El Salvador, saw the smoke, shifted to the Falklands and your eye went around in a circle until you saw this little guy. That not only makes the cartoon work better, but whenever anybody discovers the little person, they think they have accomplished something--and I feel like I accomplished something.

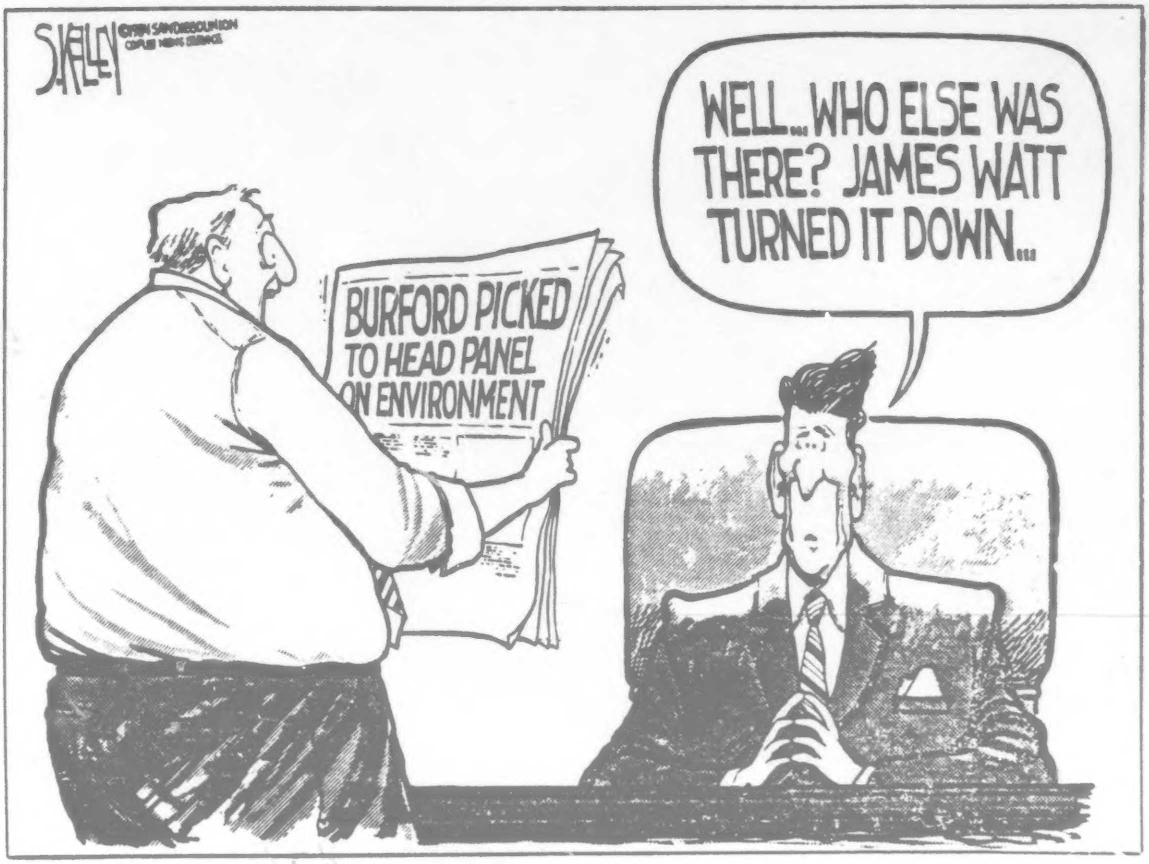
Used by permission of The Close Up Foundation.


FALKLANDS!!
EL SALVADOR
WAL © 1982

POLITICAL CARTOONS

Collect and analyze political cartoons from various newspapers--have students draw their own conclusions from the cartoons without looking at the written comment of the artist. Have students list issues that they feel are the most important for the election--draw a cartoon based on the issue and the candidate's response to the issue (perceived).

Project on an overhead or opaque projector political cartoons illustrating ideas regarding the coming Congressional and gubernatorial election and discuss the implications as they relate to major issues and candidates.


SKELLEY ©1984 SAN DIEGO UNION
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE
BURFORD PICKED TO HEAD PANEL ON ENVIRONMENT
WELL...WHO ELSE WAS THERE? JAMES WATT TURNED IT DOWN...

POLITICAL CARTOONS

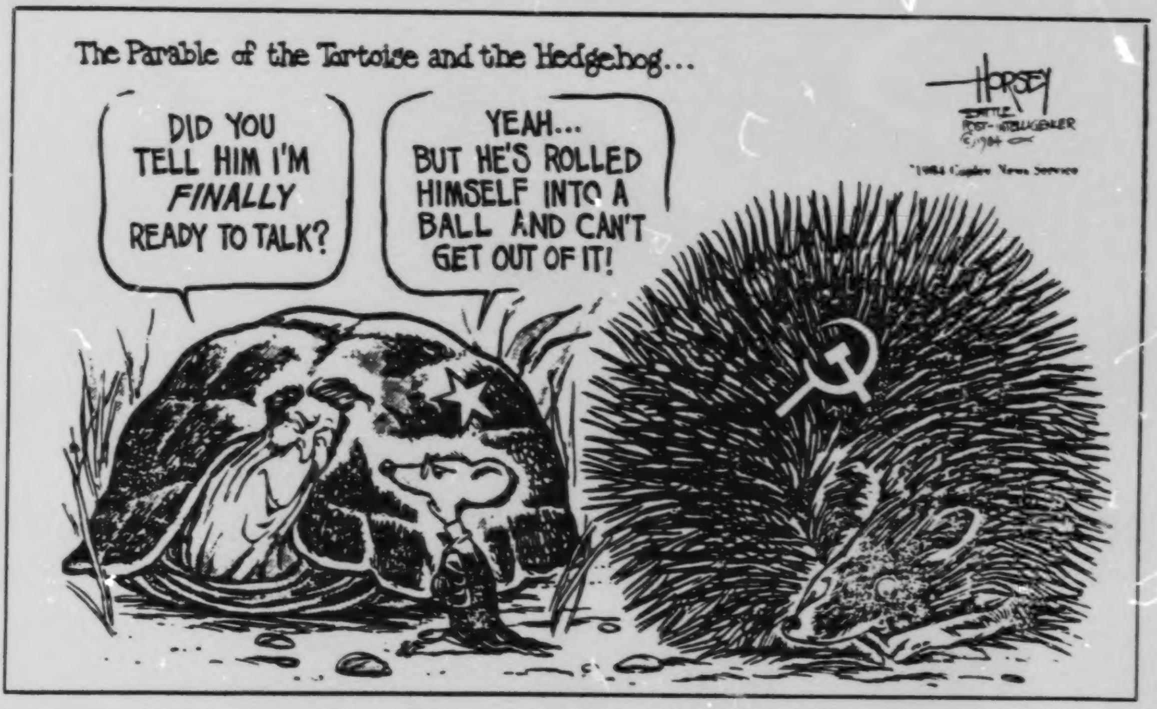
A. Use political cartoons from a local newspaper as the focal point in a discussion and examination of the meaning, message and use of cartoons.

   1. A photocopy of the same cartoon can be provided for each student.
   2. Ask students to give a one or two sentence summary of the cartoon's message.

B. Assign students to bring in a cartoon they've discovered and summarized on their own. Discuss student cartoons and summaries.

C. Follow steps A and B above with a political ad. If the school is equipped with video cassette machines try the procedure with a tv ad.

D. Have students make a scrapbook of ads and cartoons related to a particular candidate. Each scrapbook should include a summary (½ - 1 page) of the candidate's strategy, as derived from the ads, and a short summary of each of the cartoons.


The Parable of the Tortoise and the Hedgehog...
DID YOU TELL HIM I'M *FINALLY* READY TO TALK?
YEAH... BUT HE'S ROLLED HIMSELF INTO A BALL AND CAN'T GET OUT OF IT!
HORSEY
SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER ©1984
©1984 Copley News Service

NATIONAL ISSUES

After the class has done some preliminary study, ask students to identify the topics of major national issues. They may develop some such list as this:

- Reagan's economic program
- Unemployment
- Recession
- High interest rates
- Taxes
- Social Security
- Education
- Status of minorities
- Status of women
- A Constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget
- Environmental issues such as clean air, use of federal lands, oil drilling
- Immigration
- Policy in world affairs
  - the Middle East
  - Europe
  - Russia
  - Poland
  - Africa
  - Japan
  - China and Taiwan
  - the Caribbean
- Arms reduction
- A nuclear freeze
- Defense spending
- School prayer
- Abortion
- Others

Ask the class to choose a few issue areas which seem most important to them. Set up some class sessions for study and discussion of the chosen issue areas. In some classes small groups may take responsibility for reporting on the nature of the issue and conflicting points of view. Ask students to find out from newspaper articles, editorials, magazines, voting records, and other such sources the position of each candidate for the Senate and each candidate for the House of Representatives on the issues the class has chosen. Encourage students to use data from the various pollsters such as Gallup, Harris, Roper, Quale, Yankelovich, Hart, etc.

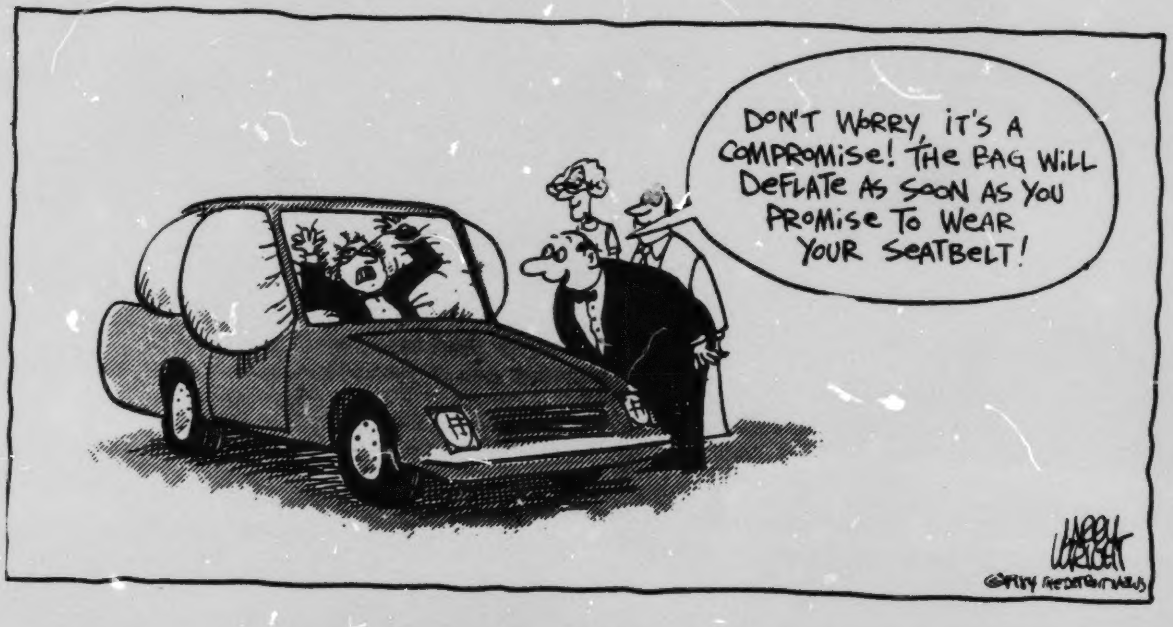
At the end of the study of election issues, party positions, and leadership qualifications, ask each student to write a paper which states: a) for whom the students would vote for Senator or Representative (or Governor); and, b) reasons in support of the student's choice: that is, each student is asked to make a decision. (Papers should be graded on: 1) how many reasons a student can offer; 2) understanding of issues; and, 3) logical consistency, but not on the student's choice of candidate.)

MICHIGAN ISSUES

After the class has done some preliminary study, ask students to identify topics of major issues for the State of Michigan. They may develop some such list as this:

- Unemployment
- Too little diversification in our economy
- Taxes
- Disposal of toxic wastes
- Support for education
- Welfare
- Outdoor recreational resources
- Use of natural resources such as timber lands, oil, sand
- A naval grid system in the U.P. by whatever name it is called
- Support for agriculture
- Abortion
- Aid to cities
- Minority rights
- Status of women
- Crime
- Others

Ask the class to choose a few issue areas which seem most important to them. Set up some class sessions for study and discussion of the chosen issue areas. In some classes small groups may take responsibility for reporting on the nature of the issue and conflicting points of view. Ask students to find out from newspaper articles, editorials, magazines, voting records, and other such sources the position of each candidate for Governor on the issues the class has chosen.


DON'T WORRY, IT'S A COMPROMISE! THE BAG WILL DEFLATE AS SOON AS YOU PROMISE TO WEAR YOUR SEATBELT!
LARRY WRIGHT

Candidates and the Issues	Candidate's Name	Candidate's Name	Where do you Stand?
Domestic Issues			
Social Spending			
Budget Deficit			
Tax Policy			
Trade Policy			
Women's Rights			
Civil Rights			
Education			
Environmental Protection			
Defense Spending			
Foreign Policy Issues			
Nuclear Arms Control			
Relations with the Soviet Union			
Central America			
Lebanon and the Middle East			

Used by permission of Newsweek, 1984 Presidential Election Handbook

ISSUES

But what about the issues? Every four years a hue and cry goes up among the press, the public and even the candidates themselves that presidential campaigns have become nothing more than packaged, tinsel-topped road shows, with issues left in the dust. There is a certain amount of truth to this charge and the fault lies with the candidates and the media. While presidential candidates talk a great deal about the issues, they usually do so in broad, sweeping terms. Candidates attempt to identify those issues they feel will strike a resonant chord with the voters and then transform them into broad campaign themes. These "issue themes" are used to attack the opposing candidate and to emphasize one's positive programs.

The themes of this year's election campaign are already becoming clear. Notes Newsweek's Fuller, "The Reagan administration will portray itself as the first administration in a long time to bring respect and strength back to America. The invasion of Grenada will be placed in this light--America the resurgent." Reagan will accuse the Democrats--particularly if Mondale is the nominee--of wanting "to return us to the failed politics of the 1970's and Jimmy Carter," Fuller adds.

The Democrats, Fuller says, will stress two main themes: the "peace-war" and "fairness" issues. The Democrats will argue that Reagan is "trigger happy" and likely to lead the country into war. And they will stress that Reagan's economic programs have been less than fair to the most disadvantaged in our society.

THE PRESS

Yet no matter how aggressively the candidates push their themes, issues inevitably become obscured during the course of the election. The immense pressures on the candidates and the way the press covers the campaign almost always turn campaign discussion away from a detailed examination of issues and policy programs.

As the campaign drags on into September and October, the candidates begin to repeat the same set campaign speech over and over. The speech may be chock full of policy discussion or it may be merely empty platitudes. In any event, the candidates are loath to depart from their set pitch for fear that an off-hand remark could wreck their campaign. Jimmy Carter's suggestion that the "ethnic purity" of certain neighborhoods should be preserved set off a storm during his first campaign, and Ronald Reagan was constantly bedeviled by misstatements like "air pollution is caused by trees." The press, for its part, is constantly looking for the unusual comment or strange event to liven up its reporting. While the voter in Peoria may be hearing a candidate's set campaign speech on "reforming the bureaucracy" for the first time, reporters may be hearing it for the 200th time, and they have no intention of ever reporting on it again.

Ever since Theodore White's The Making of the President: 1960, the press has found itself in the grip of what has been called the "Teddy White syndrome"--a fascination with the mechanics of a political campaign, with its organization, staff, strategy and polling, with everything except where a candidate stands and what he or she intends to do in office.

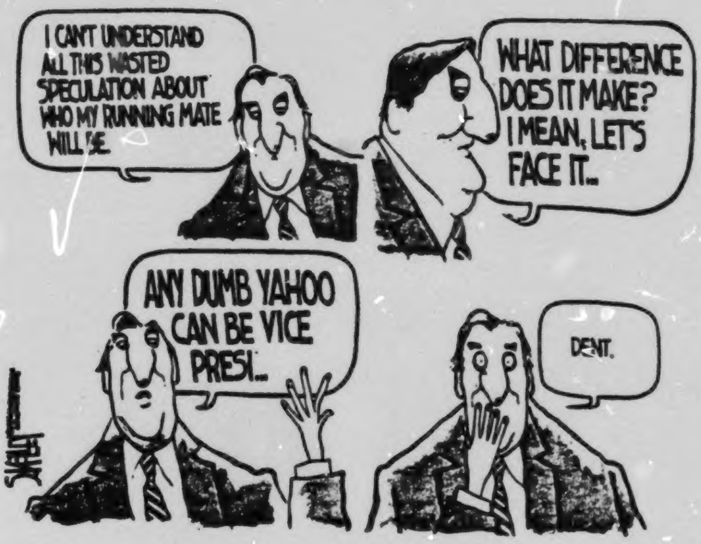
The press also operates under intense pressure and in a somewhat isolated world. According to The Washington Post's Haynes Johnson: "Reporters covering the candidate are strapped together in aluminum tubes and hurtled across vast distances each day, their jets cutting them off from reality and political perspective...The reporters become appendages of the TV apparatus designed by the media managers and utilized by the TV networks...Try as they do to deal with serious subjects and issues, the nature of the campaign process forces them into daily trivia."

Further distorting campaign coverage is the media's concentration on the "horse race" aspect of the election--who's ahead--and its dependence on polls. While polls serve an important purpose, providing instant snapshots of the electorate's moods, concerns and preferences--often with astonishing accuracy--polls can be wrong or contradictory. Polls are subject to numerous variables, such as the nature of the sample, when the poll is taken and the type of questions asked. Notes media critic Alexander Cockburn: "The same question asked in different ways elicits different responses. Take, for example, 'Would you vote for John Anderson?' and 'Would you vote for John Anderson if you thought he could win?' Polled answers to the first question made him a loser; to the second a near winner. [Yet] the reporters objectively announced that according to the latest poll, John Anderson was a loser and the woeful image of a loser was spread across television."

As the campaign draws to a close, it might serve well to ask whether any of this--the commercials, the media hype, the polls--makes a difference. While Ronald Reagan's media image certainly helped him win the presidency, all the slick packaging in the world couldn't have helped Jimmy Carter. It was real life, flesh and blood issues such as the Iranian hostage crisis and the inflation rate that sank his re-election bid.

For most voters, most of the time, candidates are chosen on the basis of actual issues as well as on party and personal preferences decided upon long before the campaign appeals start. Despite all the efforts to manipulate the voter, Americans remain, in some unfathomable way, unmanipulatable--and they are the ones who make the final choice.

Used by permission of Newsweek, 1984 Presidential Election Handbook.


I CAN'T UNDERSTAND ALL THIS WASTED SPECULATION ABOUT WHO MY RUNNING MATE WILL BE
WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE? I MEAN, LET'S FACE IT..
ANY DUMB YAHOO CAN BE VICE PRESI..
DENT.

UNDERSTANDING ISSUES

PREPARATION

Make enough copies of the case study, The City Transit System, so each student can have one. (See following page.)

ACTIVITIES

Have students read the case study: The City Transit System. Use the following questions to analyze the case.

a. What is the issue in this case?

b. What are the facts in this case?

c. Which statements are in dispute?

d. What kinds of activities are people engaged in to win voter support?

e. What are the political objectives of the groups?

f. How are the groups trying to achieve those objectives?

g. What is your opinion of the political actions of the persons or groups in this case?

h. Which groups do you think are taking more or less effective action?

i. If you were voting on this transit levy, how would you vote?

j. Which sources of information used in the case appear to be most influential?

k. Which sources would influence you the most?

IF WE COULD BE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAD THE SAME FACTS, COULD WE BE SURE THEY WOULD ALL AGREE ON THE ISSUE?

Adapted from Practical Politics, Ohio Department of State, Ohio Department of Education.

CASE STUDY

The City Transit System

The city transit system has put a tax question on the ballot for the voters of the city to decide. The wording on the ballot will read:

> Shall there be additional tax of 1 mill on real estate
> for the purpose of operating funds for the transit system?

____ For the levy ____ Against the levy

A coalition has formed to support the levy and another one has formed to oppose it. Among those who support it are the Mayor, the Chamber of Commerce, Senior Citizen groups, and a group that calls itself Citizens Who Ride the Bus. The opponents include the local Realtors Association, the local chapter of the Auto Club, Citizens for Low Taxes, and a group called Suburban Opponents of Public Money for Buses.

All of these groups and many individuals engage in a wide variety of activities in an attempt to influence voters. The Mayor has made TV and radio commercials urging support for the levy. The Chamber paid for those commercials and provided fact sheets to newspapers, radio, and TV, as well as buying ads in the local newspapers. Senior Citizen groups have organized a protest march down Main Street with banners and placards announcing their support. They have also written personal postcards to their friends and letters to the editor in the local newspapers. Citizens Who Ride the Bus have provided speakers to civic groups and notices to church and organizational newsletters.

The opponents have been equally active. The Realtors have held a number of press conferences to explain their opposition and have paid for several ads on radio, TV, and in newspapers. The local chapter of the Auto Club has established a telephone hot line to answer questions and has put out information brochures that explain their opposition. The Citizens for Low Taxes have taken literature door to door and provided speakers for debates, coffees, and talk shows. The Suburban Opponents have not done anything specific, but have complained to the news media that no one is paying attention to them.

Both sides prepared carefully worded explanations of their positions for the local newspaper to print the week before the election. Neither political party has taken an official position on the issue, and neither have any of the local elected officials except for the Mayor. The local League of Women Voters published an explanation and arguments for and against the levy.

Both sides agree on a few facts: the levy is for 1 mill, which is one dollar on every $1,000 of the taxable value of a property, but they do not agree how much that will cost the average homeowner. The supporters say it will average $17 per homeowner, the opponents say $43. Both sides agree that an average of 27,000 people ride the bus every day. But the supporters say that saves energy and congestion while the opponents emphasize that means more than 250,000 people in the city do NOT ride the bus every day. The supporters say the bus saves the commuter money, cuts down on traffic congestion and air pollution, provides the only means of transportation for many disabled, elderly, and low-income people. Opponents say the public should not subsidize a service used by so few, that the bus company would not need the money if it had better management. The supporters say more money would enable them to provide better service, increase ridership, and reduce the need for public subsidy. The opponents say they should increase their ridership and use that extra income for improving service.

The Mayor says better mass transit will make a more prosperous community; The Chamber says it will attract business; the Senior Citizens are fearful of higher fares and less service; and the Citizens Who Ride the Bus want to avoid buying a second car to commute in.

The Realtors fear higher taxes will hurt their sales, the local chapter of the Auto Club fears loss of the gas tax revenues to build better highways, the Citizens for Low Taxes don't want more taxes for ANY reason. And the Suburban Opponents want to get their name in the paper because they are opposed to school busing and believe the two are somehow connected.

CURRENT ISSUES

Distribute the Current Issues Inventory. Have students indicate in Column 1 whether they agree or disagree with each statement. Tally the responses on the board.

Select an issue on which the students are fairly evenly divided as the basis for class discussion of the importance of resolving conflicts over issues.

Next, have each student check off the three concerns listed on the Inventory that are of most concern to her or him. On the board, tally the number of students who checked each concern, so that the priorities of the group can be determined. It will become evident that most people have an opinion on most issues and that they feel strongly about a few of those.

Discuss the relation of issues to individual concerns and how the political process might be used to influence favorable resolution of conflicts.

Adapted from Political Politics, Ohio Department of State, Ohio Department of Education.

CURRENT ISSUES INVENTORY

	Agree	Disagree	Priority
1. Motorcyclists should be required to wear helmets.	______	______	______
2. The drinking age should be 18.	______	______	______
3. Marijuana should be legalized.	______	______	______
4. Any draft should include women.	______	______	______
5. Smoking should be banned in public buildings.	______	______	______
6. Nuclear power plants should be outlawed.	______	______	______
7. Gasoline should be rationed	______	______	______
8. High schools should have designated smoking areas for students.	______	______	______
9. Our town should have a curfew.	______	______	______
10. (add a local issue, such as a teen center, need for a stop light, a school levy)	______	______	______

EXAMINING THE RECORD OF A POLITICAL CANDIDATE

The use of adequate cross-section sampling before arriving at a conclusion. Read the following situation:

Mr. Adams was a candidate for the office of United States senator. The campaign was becoming very heated as election day neared and the candidates became more anxious about winning. One evening an opponent of Mr. Adams' made a speech such as the following:

"Voters, you cannot afford to send a man like Mr. Adams to the United States Senate. His judgment is terrible. Look at this record. Five years ago, when he was governor of this state, he initiated a labor policy that resulted in more strikes than we ever experienced previously. This labor policy has also been responsible for industry leaving our state. Three years ago he pardoned a hoodlum and gangster, Robert Pugnat. I know you would just as soon forget that Mr. Pugnat shot and killed three of our efficient state troopers before he was placed behind bars again. Mr. Adams was responsible for this...You can "thank" him for...

"I have presented you with evidence which clearly shows that this man cannot be trusted to make important decisions in the senate. In fact, his record looks like that of a "mentally deranged" person. Instead of being sent to the United States Senate, he should be placed in an institution for the mentally incompetent."

From the same platform, a few days later, the campaign manager and speech giver for Mr. Adams said many nice things about his candidate which may be summarized as follows:

"Voters, we need a person like Mr. Adams in the United States Senate. Mr. Adams is a great and wise man as you can se by looking at his record. How brilliant that record is. He has been directly responsible for cleaning out lakes and rivers and developing our natural resources. He has spearheaded policies for creating more jobs. The percentage of unemployed in our state has dropped noticeably. It was through his efforts that every high school graduate in our state can, if he or she wishes, attend a community college. Don't forget what he did when... Seldom have you had the privilege to vote for a man who has done so many outstanding things for his constituency."

Questions for discussion:

1. How should a voter go about examining the record of Mr. Adams?

2. How did the opponent examine Mr. Adams' record?

3. How did the partisan supporter examine Mr. Adams' record?

4. How can one be sure that an adequate, cross-section sampling of Mr. Adams' record had been examined?

HOW TO RATE THE CANDIDATES

On the Campaign

The way that a candidate runs a campaign may provide important clues to how that candidate would perform as a public official. One would expect a contender who ran an open, straightforward, issue-oriented campaign to be an accessible, forthright, and thoughtful public official. Use the following criteria to rate campaign behavior:

Information - Do campaign ads and materials provide clear information on issue positions? Can you easily obtain position papers or issue statements? Are a candidate's qualifications clearly stated, and are they relevant to the office being sought?

Accessibility - Is the candidate willing to debate with opponents? Does the candidate meet regularly with the press? Does the candidate accept speaking engagements before different groups, including those who might disagree? Does the candidate go into neighborhoods or shopping centers to meet with people who might not go to political meetings?

Openness - Does the candidate agree to be interviewed by the media or representatives of nonpartisan organizations, or does the candidate submit only to "friendly" questions? Will the candidate answer questions from an audience? Does the candidate give clear, unevasive answers?

Effectiveness - Does the candidate (for a major office) have a well-organized staff and open headquarters? Does the candidate have an effective and enthusiastic volunteer staff? Are there few campaign staff turnovers or public disagreements? Is the campaign receiving contributions from a large variety of individual sources or a few special interests?

Fairness - Is the candidate turning in required financial reports? If a campaign fairness pledge exists, did the candidate sign it? Is the campaign free of racial or ethnic slurs or innuendos? Does the candidate refrain from personal attacks on opponents?

On The Issues

Below is a sample list of major nationwide issues that you may use in evaluating candidates. You should determine how important each issue is to you and your community and give each a priority rating. Listen to what each candidate has to say about these issues and rank the candidates by how closely their opinions match yours. It is useful to use this ranking chart when listening to or watching a debate between candidates. It will help you to pay attention to issue stands and to ask questions that will clarify positions.

Your priority number	The Issues	The Candidate whose position is most like yours
	The economy - How do we lick the dual problems of inflation and unemployment? How do we keep interest rates manageable? What about government deficits? Should we cut spending? Raise taxes? What programs should be cut; if cuts are necessary?	
	Energy - What incentives for energy conservation should the government support? How much should we spend to develop new sources--solar, nuclear, etc.? Should we lower environmental standards to get more reliable and cheaper energy?	
	Environment - Are we doing enough to preserve our air, water and land resources? Who should bear the costs? What is the role of public lands and parks? How do we cope with growth? How much growth do we want or need?	
	Human Needs - What role should government play in eliminating poverty: Provide jobs and job-training programs? Provide income assistance through cash, food stamps and/or tax credits? Help low and moderate income people meet housing, health care and child care costs?	

Your priority number	The Issues	The Candidate whose position is most like yours
	National Security - Should government spend more or less on defense? What emphasis should be given to arms control? The nuclear freeze? How can we ease tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union? What should be the U.S. role in the U.N.?	
	Leadership - Should public officials reflect the opinions of their constituents or try to change them through education and leadership?	

From How to Do It, League of Women Voters. Published by National Council for the Social Studies.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

How do we acquire our political attitudes? It is difficult for any of us to say for sure, but young people need to understand that influences came from many sources. Being aware of these influences may help them to take more of a personal responsibility for their own beliefs and become more accepting of the beliefs of others.

Handout: "Are You a Democrat or a Republican?" (on following page)

1. Using the brainstorming technique, have students in groups of approximately four make a list of as many examples as possible of how people form political beliefs and attitudes. Examples of possible responses might include: listening and talking with parents; watching political events, reports, and advertisements on TV; listening and talking with friends; participating in political discussions in school. After students have worked for about ten minutes, have each group report their list. The teacher should write the examples on the chalkboard.
2. Since the class has discussed the role of the family in forming people's political beliefs and attitudes, it might be interesting for students to predict the party they might identify with in the future based on characteristics of themselves directly related to their family. The teacher should distribute the handout "Are You a Democrat or a Republican?" Have students follow the instructions on the handout. When the students have completed the handout, have them add up the checks under Column A and the checks under column B. Tell them that checks in column A indicate a preference toward the Democratic Party, and checks in column B indicate a preference toward the Republican Party. Students should discuss why they feel these characteristics predict party choice as they do. They should also discuss possible problems in using this type of method to indicate party preference.

Adapted from Improving Citizenship Education, Fulton County Board of Education, Atlanta, Georgia.

ARE YOU A DEMOCRAT OR A REPUBLICAN?

Instructions: For each set of statements put a check mark under the appropriate column. Tally the number of checks in each column at the bottom of the page.

Column A	Column B
1. Your family is not above average in wealth _____	1. Your family is above average in wealth _____
2. One of your parent's occupation is a manual worker _____	2. One of your parent's occupation is professional, business, white collar, or farm _____
3. You are Black _____	3. You are Caucasian _____
4. Your parents are non-college graduates _____	4. Your parents are college graduates _____
5. You are Jewish or Roman Catholic _____	5. You are Protestant _____
6. One of your parents belongs to a union _____	6. Neither of your parents belong to a union _____
7. You are of Chicano, Irish, Italian or Polish ancestry _____	7. You are of Scandinavian, German, Scotch, or English ancestry _____
TOTAL: _______	TOTAL: _______

POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Based on the discussion in class and your reading, indicate on the scales below your party preference:

1. Partisanship

   Democratic Independent Republican
   5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5

2. Liberal - Conservative
   5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5

3. Involvement

   low average high
   1 2 3 4 5

Now, write your own political autobiography. Explain in social and psychological terms how you have come to have the political attitudes you indicated above. As you write your answer, be sure to consider the following questions:

What is the first political event you can remember? How did your parents feel about it? What was the party affiliation of your parents? Were they politically active? Did you discuss politics with your parents? Were there any other people or events that had great influence on your political attitudes? In addition to your family, some of you might consider other factors of political socialization: friends, social economic class, ethnic group, religion, age, sex. (Remember this is not a political argument on why you like Republicans or Democrats. You want to explain, in terms of your background, why you are a Republican, Democrat, etc.)

Ask students to hypothesize about their agreement with their parents on federal election issues. Students can find out by comparing their own positions with those of one of their parents (or some other adult in the family). Students can develop a short questionnaire (and so learn to construct one) asking for opinions on a few issues the class selects as important. Respondents might be asked to check "Agree," "Disagree," or "Undecided" to such statements as these:

1. The United States is spending too much money on arms;
2. The federal government ought to cut back on Social Security;
3. The federal government should keep the present regulations on industry to promote clean air.

A few students will have to take on the task of writing a letter to parents requesting their cooperation and explaining the survey. Once the questionnaire is developed and run off (one color for parents, another for students), each student and a parent fills it out anonymously and responses for students and parents as groups tallied and summarized.

Then students can discuss their findings.

1. How much general agreement is there between parents and students?
2. Are there some issues on which disagreement or agreement or indecision is greater than others?
3. How do we account for the agreements, indecision, or disagreements?
4. Is there actually a generation gap?

Study the profiles of the following voters. Can you predict how each one will vote in the Michigan gubernatorial election? In your Congressional district? Give evidence to support your prediction.

1. Shirley Johns
Black
Single, 21 years old
Telephone Operator
Income: $12,000
Protestant
Lives in city

2. Jose Perez
Hispanic
Married, 26 years old
Handyman
Income: $8,000
Catholic
Lives in farm area

3. Harry Foster
Black
Married, 45 years old
Personnel Manager for a Corporation
Income: $40,000
Protestant
Lives in suburbs

4. Theodore Bar
White
Married, 45 years old
Lawyer
Income: $55,000
Catholic
Lives in suburbs

5. Matilda Harris
White
Single, 28 years old
Secretary
Unemployed
Protestant
Lives in city

6. Maria Martinez
Hispanic
Married, 35 years old
Doctor
Income: $50,000
Catholic
Lives in suburbs

7. Jim Martinelli
White
Married, 38 years old
Owner of a gas station
Income: $17,000
Catholic
Lives in a small town

8. David Goldstar
White
Married, 55 years old
Dentist
Income: $45,000
Jewish
Lives in suburbs

9. Joseph Apple
Black
Married, 45 years old
Automotive assembly line worker
Income: $20,000
Protestant
Union Member
Lives in city

10. Mary Novack
White
Widow, 67 years old
Retired
Income: $8,000
Protestant
Lives in city

11. Janet Teacher
Black
Single, 30 years old
Teacher
Income: $18,000
Protestant
Lives in city

12. John Shillingham
White
Married, 27 years old
Salesperson
Income: $15,000
Catholic
Lives in suburbs

13. Alie Barry
White
Married, 40 years old
Meat Packer
Income: $11,000
Moslem
Union Member
Lives in city

14. John Carris
White
Single, 22 years old
Stock Boy
Income: $9,000
Catholic
Lives in suburbs

15. Harold Adamski
White
Married, 48 years old
Engineer
Income: $46,000
Catholic
Lives in suburbs

HOW TO DRAW A POLITICAL PROFILE OF YOUR COMMUNITY

People participate in politics only if they believe that it will make a difference. Students will gain a better understanding of how politics affects almost every aspect of life in their community if they know the facts about the place where they live. A discussion about how community characteristics influence the electoral process--who votes, how campaigns are run, who gets elected--will enable students to draw a political profile of their community.

What to Look For

- Local census data: population, age, income, education level, extent of home ownership, kinds of employment, major racial and/or ethnic groups.
- Economic base: major employers, unemployment level, types of agriculture and/or manufacturing, major businesses, retail centers, urban decay and/or redevelopment, housing assets and needs.
- Community service: educational institutions, hospitals, libraries, social welfare agencies, services for youth and elderly, private charities (i.e., Red Cross, church-sponsored charities).
- Governments: We all live under the jurisdiction of many governments, from the federal government to the local parks commission, and not all of them are obvious. Check the phone book.
- Public officials: Who represents the citizen in all those governments? Are they elected or appointed? List their party, (where applicable) and length of office. What can you find out about their duties and salaries?
- How are decisions made?: Who wields the power in your community? What is the role of elected officials? Are the important decisions

made in public or in private? What opportunities exist for public participation?

- Who are the opinion makers? Who is listened to in your community? Is it the Chamber of Commerce or union leaders? A member of the clergy or a college president? What is the role of the press--columnists, editorial writers--and the broadcast media?
- Who provides political information--how and where to vote, whom to vote for and why? How do citizens find out where candidates stand on issues? What is the role of community groups, political parties, interest groups such as unions and business groups? Do the press, radio and TV bring this kind of information to the public? Do election officials bring information and registration opportunities to a wide segment of the population? What part of the electorate is reached and what part left out? Is the information partisan or nonpartisan?
- The electorate: who votes and who doesn't vote? What are the community's registration and voting patterns? Are there significant differences in participation among various groups of citizens (by race, ethnic group, sex, age or neighborhood)? Do young people vote? Are there many absentee voters? What is the voting status of college students? How many Democrats, Republicans, independents or minor party members are there? Has the proportion been changing? Is there a different pattern in a presidential election year?

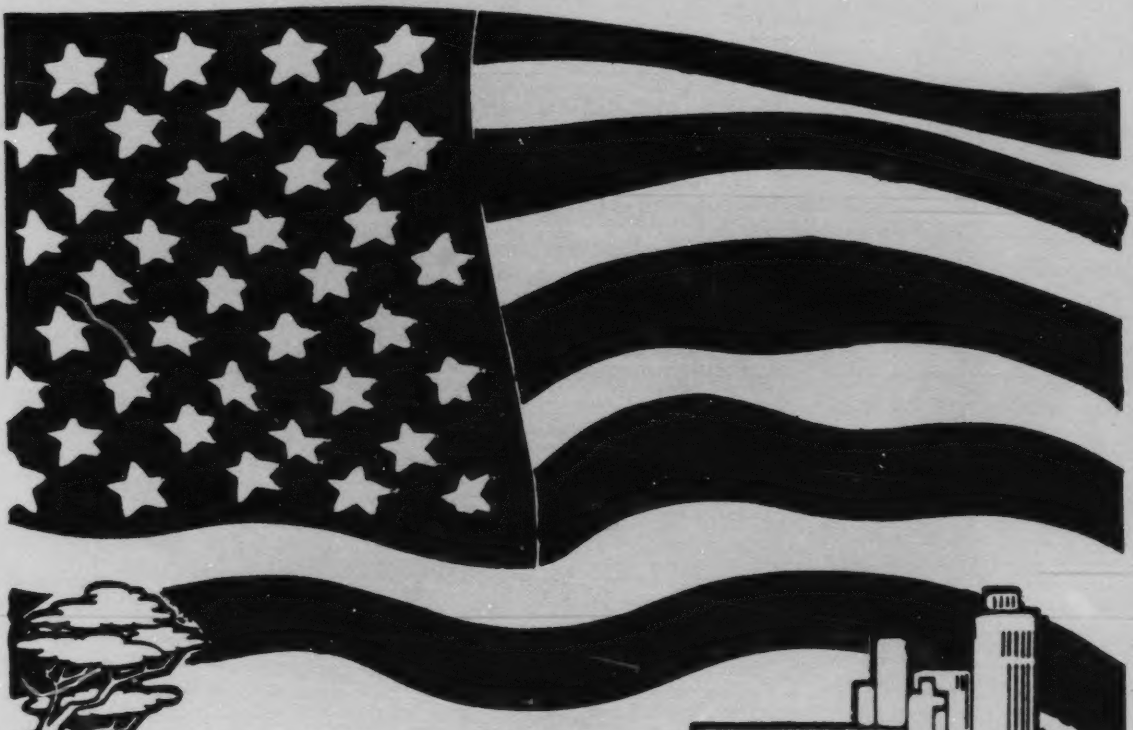
Where to Find the Facts

Contact election officials, civic organizations, unions, political groups and parties, community centers, and trade associations. Check your local library--many have special sections on community government and history.

Visit your local newspaper and radio station and talk to the reporters who cover local news and to editorial writers.

Check with the local League of Women Voters. Most Leagues publish a Know your Community handbook that includes many of the facts you are looking for. Go to less official sources of information, too. Talk to someone who has lived in your community for a long time, a past office holder or a defeated candidate. Seek out neighborhood leaders. They know the community well.

From How to Do It, League of Women Voters Education Fund. Published by National Council for the Social Studies, 1984.



SURVEYING THE COMMUNITY

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

It is often important to gauge the political interest of a community to make important decisions such as how much literature to distribute in that community, how often a message should be broadcast on radio or TV, or how often speakers on an issue need to make appearances.

One way to get an idea of the interest of the people in the area is to do a survey. This general survey of political interest serves several useful purposes for the students:

1. It gets them into the community to get acquainted with the people.
2. It gives students ideas of the community they live in.
3. Students get either positive or negative reactions from the community to voting, and the reasons why.
4. It gives students an opportunity to collect and process data on their community.

Arthur Hadley, in his recent book, The Empty Polling Booth, found that the most startling characteristic of people who do not vote as compared to people who do vote, was that a much higher percentage of nonvoters believe that their lives are determined by luck. Voters were much more likely to believe they could plan their lives. He does not accept the stereotype of the nonvoter. The characteristics of the nonvoter were thought to include being: young, female, rural, Southern, less well educated, lower income, probably a member of a minority group. Hadley found that in fact a high percentage of nonvoters were well educated, higher income, white, male, urban, and northern--no different from voters. The only substantial difference was that nonvoters don't believe they can plan their lives, but voters believe they can.

PREPARATION

1. Make copies of the Survey. Allow 3 copies per student.
2. Familiarize yourself with the procedure for processing the results.
3. You might want to contact the local newspaper to have them print your results in the newspaper.

OBJECTIVES

1. Given a questionnaire, students will be able to conduct a survey and process the data.

ACTIVITIES

1. Have students conduct the survey. Then discuss with them: What kinds of responses did you get? Were people reacting favorably to you? Negatively? How much time did you need to spend in the neighborhood?
2. Have students tally and process the results of the survey, using the materials provided.

Sense of Political Efficacy: the more a person feels he is able to influence government and have government respond, the higher is that person's sense of political efficacy (PE). That is, it is the degree to which an individual feels that he or she can influence political decisions or that government is responsive to him or her.

Tallying the results: give one point to every Disagree response. The range of scores possible for each respondent is 0-5. If the score is 0, 1, or 2, we will call that a LOW sense of political efficacy. If the score is 3, 4, or 5, we will call that a HIGH sense of political efficacy. Make a tally sheet like the one that follows.

Based on the tallies the students have made, ask the following question:

1. Does there seem to be a relation between sex identification and sense of political efficacy? If so, what? What might be the reasons?
2. Does there seem to be a relation between racial identity and sense of political efficacy? If so, what? What might be the reasons?

3. Does there seem to be a relation between political party preference and sense of political efficacy? If so, what? What might be the reasons?

RESOURCE PERSONS

Any person who has been involved in conducting polls or surveys would be helpful for this lesson. Advertising agencies are often asked to do polling for candidates. Someone involved in census taking has also been involved in the processing of data. The county Republican or Democrat chairperson might also be of help to the students in processing this information. Some of these resource persons might be very interested in the statistics the students come up with.

HELPFUL HINTS

In many communities, the area the students survey will probably be quite homogeneous politically and racially. That will make it more difficult to use the tabulated results to discuss comparative feelings of political efficacy between races or parties. However, it does mean that students may be able to describe with some accuracy the degree of political efficacy felt by members of that community. For more information, see: IPLE Voter Education Booklet, Canvassing Techniques, p. 27-29. 20 Delsea Dr., Rt. #4, Box 209, Sewell, New Jersey 08080.

From Practical Politics, Ohio Department of State and Ohio Department of Education.

SURVEY FORM

Fill in the following information for each person you interview:

Sex _____ Male _____ Female

Political Party Preference _____ Democrat _____ Republican _____ Neither

Racial Identity _____ White _____ Nonwhite

1. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.

    _____ Agree _____ Disagree

2. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.

    _____ Agree _____ Disagree

3. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

    _____ Agree _____ Disagree

4. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

    _____ Agree _____ Disagree

5. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

    _____ Agree _____ Disagree

6. Do you vote?

    _____ Yes _____ No _____ Occasionally

TALLY FORM

	Total	Number of High Scores	Number of Low Scores
1. Political Efficacy	____	____	____
2. Males	____	____	____
3. Females	____	____	____
4. Democrats	____	____	____
5. Republicans	____	____	____
6. Neither party	____	____	____
7. Whites	____	____	____
8. Nonwhites	____	____	____

	High	Low	Total
Male	%	%	%
Female	%	%	%

	High	Low	Total
Dem.	%	%	%
Rep.	%	%	%
None	%	%	%

	High	Low	Total
White	%	%	%
Nonwhite	%	%	%

ACTIVITY 6

Obtain the results of the last local election. Newspapers may be the best source of information. Compare voting outcomes with areas in your community. Are there differences among the areas? How can the differences be accounted for?

ACTIVITY 7

Examine Gallup polls to see how various groups vote - blacks, women, young people (18-24 years old), farmers, geographical locations, etc. Discuss with students why groups tend to hold the political attitudes they do. How does this affect political campaigns?

ACTIVITY 8

VOTING - THE COMMUNITY

Interview parents, neighbors, and/or friends about their voting experiences. Students may wish to use a tape recorder if the person being interviewed is willing. Students can list possible questions to use during the interview. A few suggestions for questions are:

1. How did the individual feel about voting for the first time?
2. Did the individual feel well informed about the candidates and the issues? Why or why not?
3. How did the individual get most of his/her information about the candidates and issues?
4. Were there any problems in using the voting machine?
5. Had the individual met any of the candidates in person or attended any political meetings?
6. Had the individual ever been a campaign worker?
7. Did the individual feel that the ballot was too lengthy? Why or why not?
8. Had the individual ever voted in an election in another country? If he or she had, how was it similar to voting in this country? How was it different?

A classroom discussion should follow where students discuss their findings.

VOTING AND POPULATION

Have the students examine population by age for Michigan and the United States for the years since 1940.

SOURCES: 1970 U.S. CENSUS OF POPULATIONS--U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. P. 24-57
MICHIGAN STATISTICAL ABSTRACT. Fifteenth Edition 1980. Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University. Editor: David I. Verway. p. 37.

Questions for discussion:

1. What inferences can be made regarding the increases and decreases in population within some age groups?
2. What affect does age have on voter participation?
3. Does a candidate for political office need to be concerned about the age composition of his/her constituency? Why or why not?
4. Will Michigan voters of 1984 react the same or differently than Michigan voters in 1960 and 1970 to issues regarding
    - unemployment?
    - social welfare?
    - social security?
    - taxes?
    - education?
    - etc.
5. How does the age composition of the United States compare with the age composition of Michigan?
6. Will the national views regarding major issues be similar or different from those of Michigan residents? Why or why not?

TABLE I-6. RESIDENT POPULATION OF MICHIGAN AND THE UNITED STATES. BY AGE GROUP: CENSUS 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970; and 1 JULY 1976, 1977, 1978, AND 19[illegible] ESTIMATE

(In thousands)

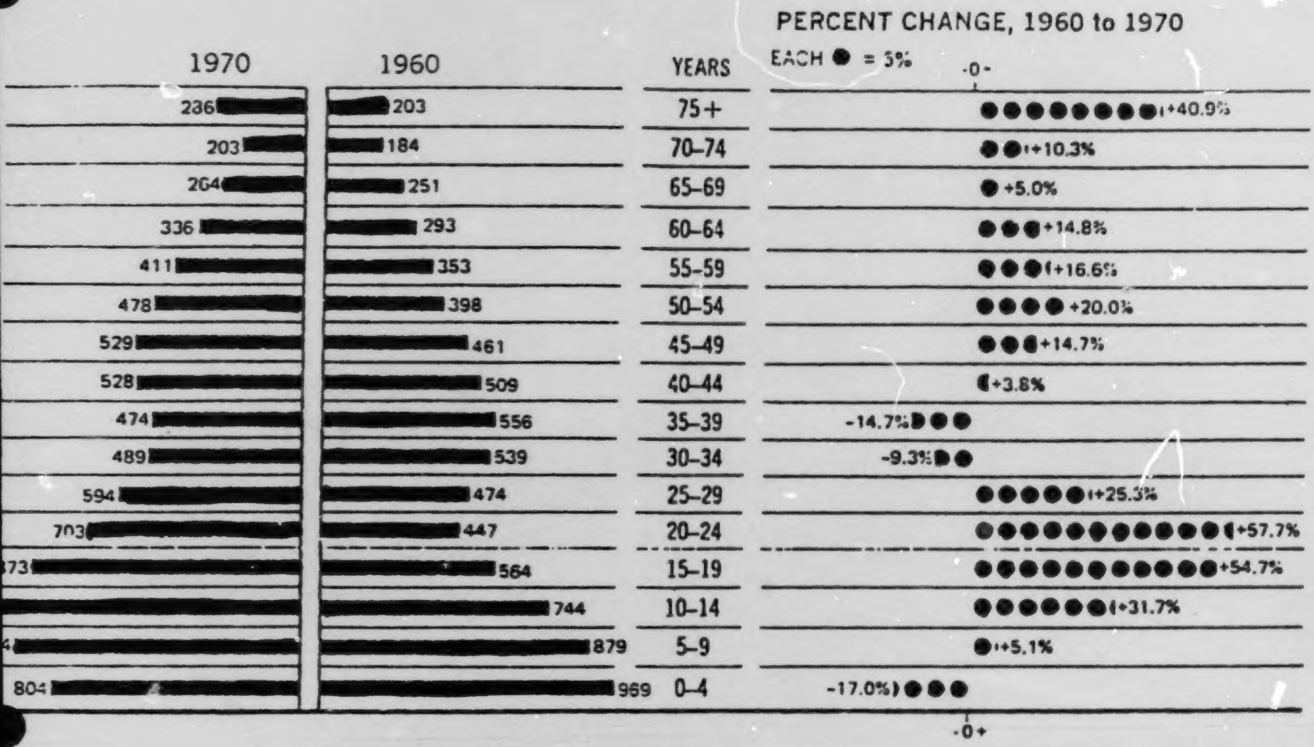
Year	Resident population	Under 5 years	5 to 17 years	18 to 44 years	45 to 64 year	65 yrs and over	14 yrs and over	18 yrs and over	21 yrs and over
				Michigan					
1940	5,256	431	1,168	2,263	1,053	331	4,037	3,657	3,374
1950	6,372	704	1,209	2,606	1,303	462	4,718	4,370	4,107
1960	7,823	969	1,990	2,721	1,505	638	5,349	4,864	4,580
1970	8,875	805	2,448	3,118	1,755	749	6,359	5,622	5,146
1976	9,113	669	2,245	3,582	1,783	833	6,951	6,198	5,634
1977	9,148	654	2,199	3,668	1,778	850	7,036	6,296	5,728
1978	9,189	649	2,151	3,751	1,771	867	7,120	6,389	5,828
1979	9,207	651	2,086	3,826	1,758	887	7,180	6,470	5,916
				United States					
1940*	131,669	10,542	29,745	56,279	26,084	9,019	101,103	91,382	83,997
1950	151,326	16,243	30,724	61,340	30,724	12,295	112,802	104,358	97,771
1960	179,323	20,321	43,881	62,503	36,057	16,560	126,276	115,121	108,12
1970	203,235	17,163	52,526	71,738	41,836	19,972	149,398	133,546	122,722
1976	214,669	15,343	49,853	82,829	43,698	22,942	165,365	149,474	136,839
1977	216,383	15,241	49,010	84,840	43,786	23,507	168,914	152,133	139,361
1978	218,059	15,361	48,015	86,783	43,845	24,054	171,319	154,682	141,930
1979	220,099	15,649	45,982	88,968	43,903	24,658	173,804	157,529	144,721

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 875 (Washington, D.C. 1930); Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, vol. 1 Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, U.S. Summary, (Washington, D.C.: 1964), Table 46 (1950 U.S. data) and General Population Characteristics, Michigan (Washington, D.C.: 1961), Final Report PC (1)-24B, Table 16 (1950 Michigan data); and similar census documents for earlier years.

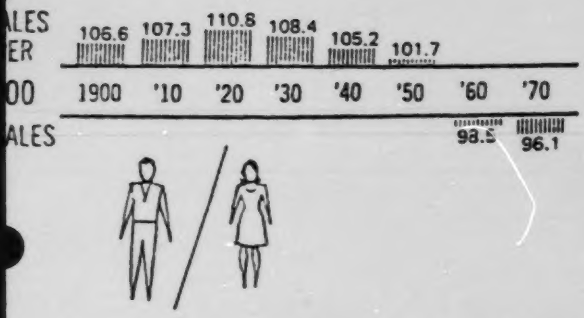
* Excludes Alaska and Hawaii

opulation by Age: 1970 and 1960

MBER IN THOUSANDS

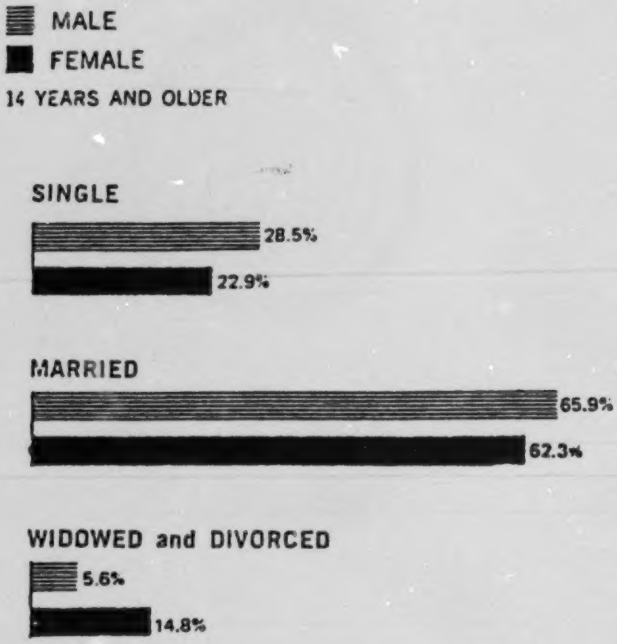


ex Ratio: 1900 to 1970



Marital Status by Sex: 1970

14 YEARS AND OLDER



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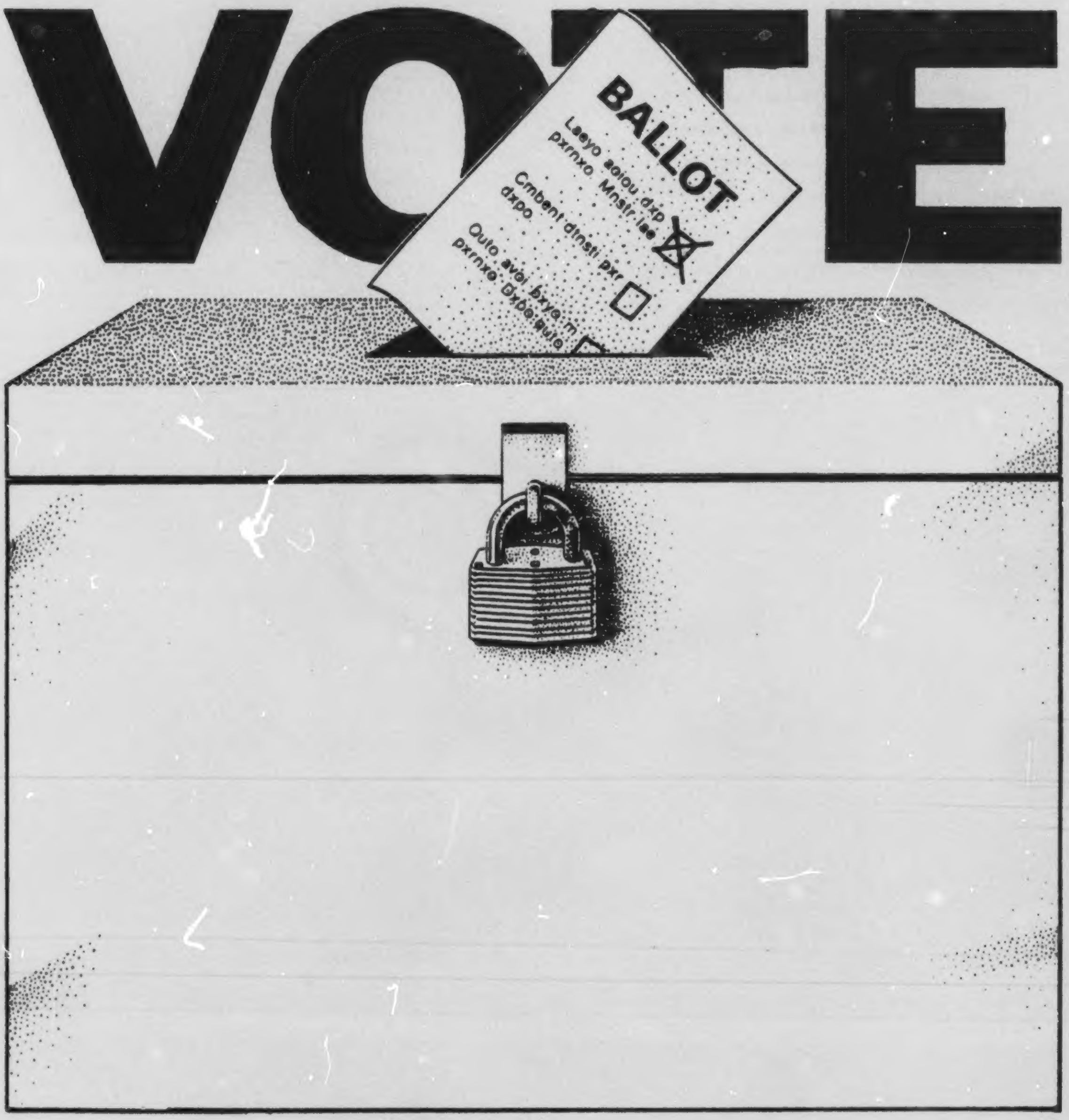
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

We want young people to exercise their right to vote. Activities, up to this point, have hopefully helped them to acquire thoughtful political attitudes. They need the background to be informed voters, but they must vote. An uncast vote, is a vote for relinquishing one of our major rights and responsibilities as United States citizens.



Responsibilities of Citizenship

1. Ask students whether it is possible to have "rights" without "responsibilities." Have students cite examples of how a young person's rights at home or in school increase as that person assumes more and more responsibilities.
2. Discuss the special responsibilities citizens have in a democracy, which assumes that citizens will follow political affairs and take an active part in expressing their voices in those affairs. Identify two types of responsibilities citizens have:

   (1) those to obey laws and public officials; and (2) those to actively participate in public affairs (e.g., keeping informed of public events, voting, writing public officials, etc.).
3. Have students study the handouts (on following page) "Responsibilities of Citizenship," and rank the duties and responsibilities of citizenship on that list in order of their perception of importance. Additionally, have students suggest additional responsibilities not listed. Tally class answers on the chalk board, and allow students to discuss their individual answers, looking at areas where the class can reach a consensus and the areas where there is no consensus.
4. Have students list both rights and responsibilities that they as young people have in their school, city, county, state and nation.

Responsibilities of Citizenship

The following list contains duties and responsibilities that some people consider an obligation of citizens in our democracy. Of course, not everyone agrees with which responsibilities are most important. Look over the list and rank from 1 to 20 in importance each of the responsibilities, with 1 being the most important and 20 the least important.

_____ Vote in all elections

_____ Join a political party

_____ Write your Congressman or state legislator

_____ Clean up litter in a city park

_____ Attend a public hearing on some problem facing the community

_____ Pay all taxes you owe

_____ Testify in court to a crime you witnessed

_____ Serve on a jury

_____ Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper about some local problem

_____ Do volunteer work in your community

_____ Make a contribution to your favorite candidates for public office

_____ Join the Army

_____ Help people register to vote

_____ Organize a demonstration against some official or problem

_____ Read the newspaper or watch television news

_____ Report all crimes you see

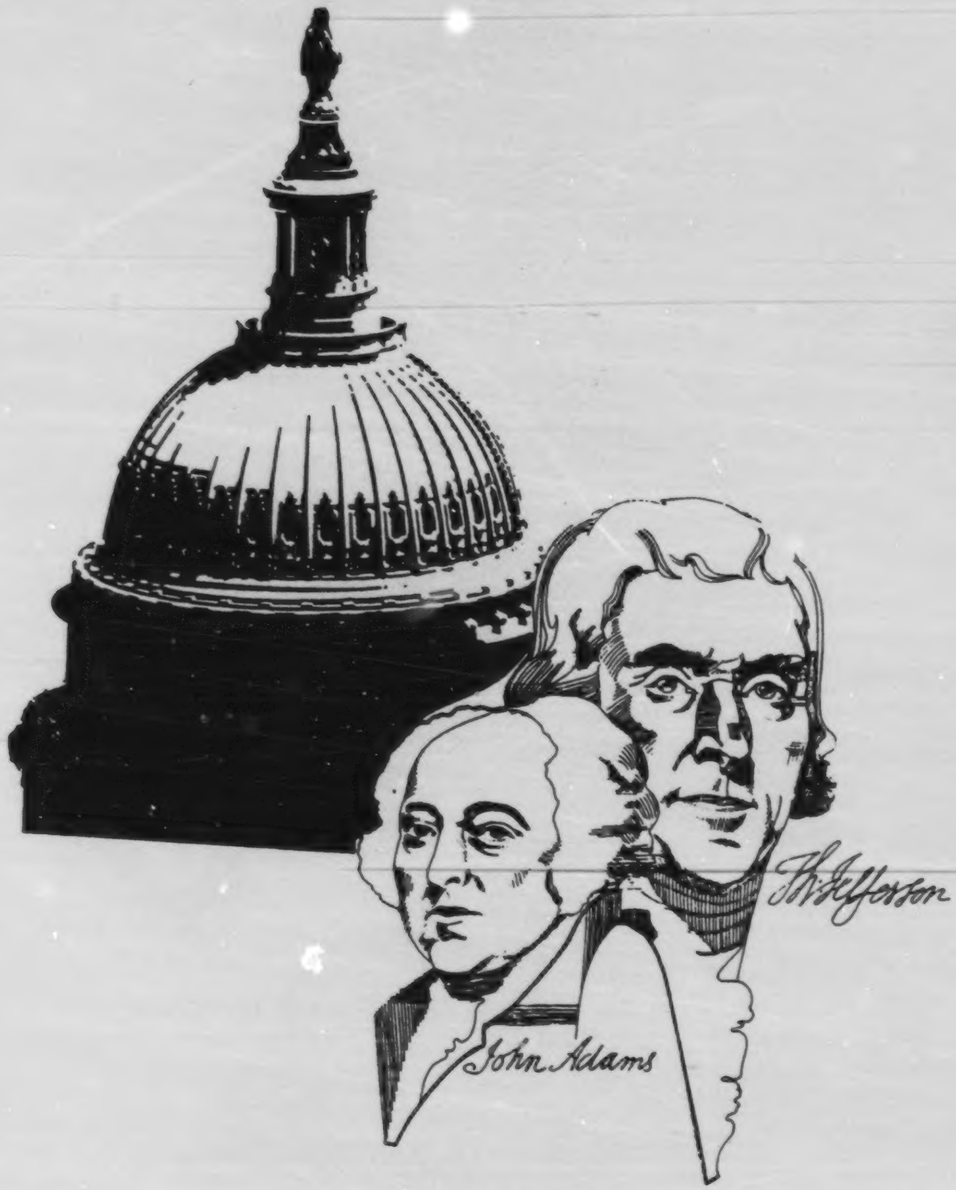
_____ Never tell a lie or be dishonest

_____ Obey all laws--including speed laws

_____ Register according to Selective Service laws for military service

_____ Obey those laws you believe are right

A class discussion should follow. What are the implications of their different opinions? How might some differences be reconciled?



WHO VOTES AND WHO DOESN'T

Older people, those with more education and Republicans tend to vote in numbers exceeding their percentage of the population; younger people, the working class and independents in relatively low proportions. Here is how key segments of the population take to the polls, according to data from Washington Post-ABC News opinion surveys. A good rule of thumb would be to add about 12 percent to each group in the "Nonvoters" column, for, according to Census Bureau studies, roughly that many people tell pollsters they vote in elections but really do not.

	Percent of Voting-Age Population	Percent of Actual Population	Percent of Nonvoters within Group
By age			
18-30	28%	20%	53%
31-44	26	26	35
45-60	24	28	25
61 and older	22	26	20
By political partisanship			
Republicans	23%	26%	26%
Democrats	40	41	32
Independents	34	31	41
Others	3	2	33
By sex			
Men	47%	47%	34%
Women	53	53	34
By education			
11th grade or less	31%	26%	43%
High school grad	38	39	32
Some college	14	15	29
College grad	17	20	27
By social class (Self-defined)			
Middle class	40%	43%	29%
Working class	60	57	38

Figures are from the combined results of Washington Post-ABC News polls taken May, June, July, 1983.

From Newsweek, 1984 Presidential Election Handbook

TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE: VOTER PARTICIPATION

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Studies and surveys on diminished voter turnout reveal that many persons do not understand the powers and limitations of elected officials; the processes of the various branches and levels of government; and, in an astonishing number of cases, the very mechanics of voting. Often couched in the language of apathy and cynicism, voter nonparticipation has grown among all age groups but especially among the 18 to 24 year olds.

Participation in elections seems to be tied to a variety of complex factors, including a belief that elections are relevant to the participant's life and that the act of voting is an effective way to make your voice heard.

ACTIVITIES

1. After presenting students with statistics on voter turnout, brainstorm (list on the board) the answers to questions: Why are some people more likely to vote than others? What kinds of people (characteristics) are more likely to vote? Examples are: gender identity, education, occupation, racial identity, age, income.

2. Have students read Handout on voter participation. Discuss points Hadley makes. Help students to understand what they can do about people not voting.

3. Next, have students offer suggestions about the possible consequences of nonparticipation.

(adapted from Practical Politics, Ohio Dept. of State, Ohio Dept. of Education)

HANDOUT ON VOTER PARTICIPATION

In a recent book by Arthur T. Hadley called The Empty Polling Booth, he questions the usual explanations given for why people refrain from voting:

> ...to point out that a highly educated, middle-aged, upper-income, deeply religious suburban businessman is more likely to vote than a low-income, rural, southern, high school dropout, under 21, is entirely true but hardly a jaw-dropping observation. And it doesn't help explain why refraining is rising rapidly among educated suburbanites and decreasing slightly among poor southerners. It's like saying that slum-dwelling, undernourished sweatshop workers are more likely to have tuberculosis than college-educated football players. That's no surprise either and doesn't explain much about the tubercle bascillus.

The refrainers divided as follows:

1. The Positive Apathetics (35 percent of the refrainers). These are people who refrain from voting because their lives are going so well that voting seems irrelevant. They are educated, happy, well-off -- the very group that heretofore experts believed voted. But these people are apathetic not out of misery and dissatisfaction, rather out of contentment. The number of positive apathetics is probably greater than 35 percent, because these refrainers have the characteristics of the over-reporters, those who don't vote yet say they do. These refrainers are about as far removed from the stereotyped nonvoter as possible. Though they are more likely to believe in luck than the voters, they are less likely to believe in luck than the other groups of refrainers.

2. The Bypassed (13 percent of the refrainers). These refrainers are most like the traditional "nonvoter." They have low incomes and little education. Many of them have never voted or have voted once, often for George

Wallace. They have a hard time following political campaigns and in our detailed interviews were uninformed in the majority of their answers. They don't just drop out of politics; they have been bypassed by most of America, affluence, education, choice, even often the joys of family life. Most of the governmental programs to increase voting are aimed at these bypassed refrainers, assuming them to represent the vast majority of non-voters. The data show that not only is this group of refrainers relatively small, but it contains people who are not likely to vote under almost any circumstances. They are our hard-core refrainers.

3. The Politically Impotent (22 percent of the refrainers). These are the refrainers who feel that nothing they can say or do, including vote, affects their government. They feel they have no control over their political, and often their private lives. These refrainers are sometimes referred to as "alienated." "Politically impotent" seems a more accurate, though not as glamorous a term, because many of these people aren't hostile toward politics and they often remain attached to their community, church, or family. In fact they are doing as well in society as many other people. It's a precise feeling of helplessness over politics that leads to their refraining.

4. The Physically Disenfranchised (18 percent of the refrainers). These are the people who for legal or physical reasons including bad health are unable to vote. The most commonly cited physical reason was bad health, six percent of all our refrainers. The most commonly cited legal reason was the inability to meet residency requirements after a recent move. Complex registration procedures and hard-to-find voting places, the traditionally conceived causes of refraining, were cited by only two percent of the refrainers. For this group particular care was used to refine the data, in

order to make certain physical disenfranchisement was the true reason and not merely an excuse given out of shame for not voting.

5. The Naysayers (6 percent of the refrainers). These are the people whose pride it is not to vote. They know why they refrain and are willing to tell you, often at greater length than you care to hear. They have a great deal of information about politics but have decided that voting is somehow wrong. For them refraining is a highly conscious choice, often almost an act of defiance.

6. The Cross-Pressured (5 percent of the refrainers). The interesting thing here is that there are so few of them. While this group is definitely not part of the usual nonvoter stereotype, sophisticated social scientists, politicians, and reporters, including this one, have long believed quite a few cross-pressured nonvoters existed. Though other criteria than our own could turn up a few more people, cross-pressured refrainers would still remain but a small percentage. These refrainers have a lot of information about politics, they want to vote, but they just can't make up their minds between the two candidates. They might be the children of Democratic parents who don't like the Democratic ballot choices but still don't want to vote Republican. Or an Italian-American boy from Rochester, New York, where Italian-Americans are Democratic, marries an Italian-American girl from Cambridge, Massachusetts, where Italian-Americans are Republican. Results: refraining. In the past, when local ties, family ties, and party loyalty were stronger, there undoubtedly were more such cross-pressured nonvoters, but today such cords bind loosely, if at all. In close campaigns some politicians deliberately try to force the other candidates' potential voters into this category -- for example, increase the worries of northern liberal Democrats about Carter's

southern Baptist religion, or play on the fears of conservative Republicans about Ford's reliance on Henry Kissinger.

Naturally not all refrainers fit neatly into one category or another.

In The Empty Polling Booth, Arthur Hadley says, "The critical divide between refrainers and voters was whether they believed in planning or luck. Any trends in the country that increase people's feelings of personal control will bring them to the polls." (page 118)

Here are some of the reasons people did not vote in 1961 (from Elmo Roper, "How to Lose Your Vote," Saturday Review, March 18, 1961, pp. 14-15)

8,000,000	Mobile adults unable to meet state, county, or precinct residence requirements
5,000,000	Adults kept from polls by illness at homes, hospitals, nursing homes, etc.
2,600,000	Adults traveling for business, health, vacation and other reasons, unable to obtain absentee ballots
1,750,000	Adult negroes in eleven southern states kept from voting by rigged literacy tests, poll taxes, various social pressures, etc.
800,000	Adult illiterates in 25 literacy-test states
500,000	Citizens of voting age in District of Columbia
500,000	U.S. citizens living abroad
215,000	Adult prison population
225,000	Adult preachers of Jehovah Witnesses who face a religious disability to voting
19,590,000	Total citizens of voting age unable to vote

ACTIVITY

Ask students to read each of these points of view and then in small groups discuss the extent to which they agree with either of the speakers. Each group can report briefly to the class before whole class discussion.

> Speaker 1
> People have a duty to vote. The country should worry about the sizable proportion of non-voters. Perhaps we should have a law which requires people to vote. While not everyone can explain complicated issues about the economy, for example, or foreign affairs, everyone can tell whether things seem to be going fairly well. If everyone voted, politicians would pay more attention to issues and conditions they can ignore now.
>
> Speaker 2
> Most people who fail to vote do not know much about the candidates. They do not understand the issues. They feel that it makes little difference whether one candidate or another is elected. Since they don't care enough to vote, they will just have to go along with what others vote up or down. In most cases, people who fail to vote probably should not vote.

ACTIVITY

Invite one or two parents of people in the community to come to class to tell students about the first time they voted. Such recollections can be particularly significant when the speakers are immigrants from countries without free elections, or Blacks (or Chicanos or others) previously denied the right to vote.

WHO'S WHO AT THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL OF POLITICS

Citizens may serve their parties at the grass roots level as members, contributors, volunteer workers, challengers, precinct delegates and candidates. They may also serve their parties as voters or election inspectors.

Member

Interest and activity in a political party are considered more important than memberships. A voter does not have to be a dues paying member of a party when selecting nominees in the privacy of the primary election polling booth.

Contributor

A contributor helps finance the party's work. Political campaigns are expensive, and parties depend on large and small contributions from many persons. Contributions are deductible on a limited basis from both state and federal income taxes. Campaign financing and contributions are regulated by state and federal laws. Information and reporting forms regarding these laws may be obtained from the county clerk's office or the Secretary of State.

Volunteer Worker

Help with clerical work, canvassing, telephoning, fund raising, and other tasks is needed at a party's headquarters, especially during election years. Any amount of time and work is encouraged and welcomed, and many jobs can be done at home or at the volunteer's convenience.

Challenger

Challengers, or pollwatchers, are persons who are interested in insuring correct procedures at the polls. Challengers are not election workers (inspectors) but observers. What they may and may not do is clearly defined by law (168.731-733). Political parties appearing on the ballot may automatically have challengers. Other incorporated organizations or organized committees of citizens interested in the adoption or defeat of any measure to be voted upon at an election, or interest in guarding against the abuse of the elective franchise, have the right to designate challengers. They must file with the county clerk for county and state elections or the city, township, or village clerk for local elections [not less than ten (10) nor more than twenty (20) days before an election] a statement, signed by an officer of the organization, of intent to appoint challengers. This statement must give reasons for appointing challengers as well as a facsimile of the identification card to be used.

Important points: Voting is IMPORTANT. The choice is yours! DON'T VOTE and the choice is theirs! A vote not cast is nevertheless still a vote! Issues have been decided on ONE vote!

HOW TO SHOW THAT EACH VOTE COUNTS

- In 1960, in a state assembly race in Nevada, the winner received 851 votes, the loser, 850. A third candidate received 459 votes.
- In 1962, in Newington, Connecticut, a state representative to the General Assembly was elected by one vote; the winner had 4,164, the loser, 4,163.
- In 1974, in the New Hampshire race for the U.S. Senate, Louis C. Wyman was declared the winner by 542 votes. After a recount, John A. Durkin was certified the winner by 10 votes. After a year of court battles and controversy, a special election was held. Durkin won by 27,269 votes.

WHO VOTES?

Less than 60 percent of the voting age population reported that they had voted in the 1960 presidential election. In 1982, 48.5 percent of those eligible reported voting. When voting and registration rates are analyzed, it becomes apparent that certain groups are less likely to be represented in the electorate than others. Students can focus their research on one or more of these underrepresented groups. They can try to find out why individuals in the targeted category may be less likely to register and vote and what can be done about it.

Women Although women's voting rates (the proportion of women who vote) historically lagged behind men's, in recent elections the rates for women have equalled those for men. In the 1980 presidential election and again in the 1982 congressional election, the proportion of women who voted was not significantly different from the proportion of men. Since women make up a majority of the voting age population, this means that women now make up a majority of those who vote.

Researchers and journalists who have been analyzing the women's vote have concluded that women tend to vote differently than men. Different issues assume prime importance for women. For example, a greater proportion of women have always been concerned about war and peace issues and tended to favor less aggressive national security policies. In the 1980's, women have been more concerned about the environment and less optimistic about the state of the economy. These differences have been characterized as the "gender gap." Combined with the greater number of women in the electorate, the "gender gap" has prompted politicians in both major parties to pay more attention to the needs and concerns of women voters.

Although women no longer trail men in voting or registration statistics, they still lag far behind men in holding political office.

Suggested activities:

- Calculate the proportion of young women eligible to vote in your school who are registered, and compare with the national statistics.

- Does a gender gap exist in your class? Prepare a simple survey, asking opinions on such issues as defense spending vs. spending on social services; environmental protection vs. economic growth; inflation vs. unemployment.

- Talk to representatives of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the League of Women Voters, the National Women's Political Caucus, Business and Professional Women, The American Association of University Women, and other organizations committed to the rights of women. Find out about their plans to increase the registration and voting rates of women and to elect more women to public office.

Youth Young people have the lowest voting rates of all age groups. This is especially true of the newest voters, those ages 18 to 24. Since 18-year-olds were given the vote, in 1972, their voting rate, as reported by the U.S. Census Bureau, has been declining to 40 percent of those eligible in the 1980 presidential election and 25 percent in the 1982 off-year election. Registration rates also are low.

Since it is known that voting is an acquired habit, that those who begin voting when young continue to vote throughout their lives, it is important to start young voters on the path to becoming participating citizens.

Suggested activities:

- If registration of eligible students is a regular event in your school calendar, can your class help? If it is not, set up a school registration day. Spark interest with an assembly speaker, or a pep rally.

- If state law allows, students over 18 and teaching staff can be deputized to register students in school.

- If your state is one of the 21 with mail-in registration, send new 18-year-olds a registration application enclosed in a birthday card.

- Schedule a face-off with competing candidates for a local office.

- Consider ways to reach young voters who have left school. For example, send the message of registration and voting through youth-oriented radio and TV programs.

Minorities Blacks: In the 1976 presidential election, black citizens reported voting at a rate of 10.5 percentage points below the national average, according to Census data. In 1980, the rate was 8.7 percentage points below the average, and in the 1982 off-year election 5.5 points. Black organizations and leaders are getting out the word that voting is power, and the number of black voters and black candidates is on the rise.

Suggested activities:

- Research the rate of black voter participation in your community. Are black citizens represented among election officials in proportion to their numbers in the population? What are the facts on black office holders--number and level of office?

- Work with local chapters of such minority organizations as the NAACP, the National Urban League and the Voter Education Project (in southern states) and with local churches and community organizations to register voters and get them to the polls.

Minority languages: The voting rate for Hispanic-Americans and other minority language citizens is lower than the rate for the general population. If your community or school has significant numbers of Hispanic-Americans or other language minorities, you should be aware of the language minority provisions of the 1975 Amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, designed to guarantee that citizens who do not speak or read English can register and vote as effectively as English-speaking persons.

Suggested activities:

- Monitor registration and voting information in your community to determine if it can be understood by language minority citizens. Is the information available in Spanish or other foreign language newspapers and radio programs? Follow up with suggestions, where appropriate.

- Work with Hispanic-American students and Spanish language classes to translate and distribute voter information materials.

- Contact such groups as the National Council of La Raza and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Find out if they have any registration or get-out-the-vote activities planned and how you can help.

Native Americans: Although Native Americans (American Indians) were given the vote in 1924, procedural barriers have continued to prevent many of them from voting. Geographic distance often deters participation.

Suggested activities:

- Contact Native American cultural centers of tribal leaders. Ask them to speak to your class about Native American attitudes and problems concerning elections.

Institutionalized, handicapped or aged citizens Citizens in nursing homes, hospitals, mental health centers, or senior citizen centers find it difficult to get information about voting and even more difficult to register and vote. Handicapped and house-bound citizens face similar problems.

Suggested activities:

- Tape voter information for the blind.
- Work with the school's print shop to provide voter information in large print.
- Demonstrate voting machines to senior citizens.
- Offer transportation to the polls.
- Distribute postcard registration forms.
- Distribute and publicize information about absentee registration and voting.

From Social Education, February, 1984.

Rights and Duties of Election Challengers

Challengers may not at any time handle any ballots or election materials.

The election board has the right to expel any challenger who obstructs or delays the election process beyond the normal interference necessarily caused by challengers, such as observing the ballots, machines and records, and in objecting to improper procedure.

Challengers must:

1. Exhibit their challenger credentials to the chairman of the election board when they first arrive at the polling place.
2. Refrain from interfering with the inspectors of election in the performance of their duties.
3. Refrain from drinking alcoholic beverages on election day.
4. Conduct themselves in an orderly manner at all times.
5. Challenge only those persons whom they have good reason to believe are not qualified to vote in that particular precinct.
6. Refrain from political campaigning within the polling place.

Qualifications of challengers:

In order to qualify, challengers must:

1. Be registered electors.
2. Be residents of the township or city in which they serve.
3. Not be a candidate (except for precinct delegate).
4. Not serve as an election inspector.
5. Possess a challenger card signed by recognized chairman or presiding officer.
6. Represent a recognized political party, or an interest group which filed at least 10 days before the election.

Precinct Delegate

The heart of grass roots participation is the precinct delegate. This person is the neighborhood representative or citizens' voice in the party.

Precinct delegates across the state form the base of the party's pyramid structure.

The precinct is the smallest political subdivision. All residents of a precinct vote at one polling place, and the maximum number of registered voters it contains is prescribed by law: 400 voters for paper ballots, and 3000 voters for machines and punchcard voting systems. When a precinct exceeds these numbers, it must be divided by the appropriate clerk (168.656-661). Each political party determines by its formula the number of delegates in each individual precinct. For example, a precinct that regularly votes heavily for one party may have several delegates from that party. This reflects the "one-man-one-vote" principle within the party.

The precinct delegate is elected at the August primary in non-presidential election years. During a presidential election year, party rules determine whether their delegates are elected at the presidential primary in May or the August primary. The delegate serves until a replacement has been elected and certified, (normally two years), and receives no pay. Any qualified and registered voter may run for precinct delegate by filing a nomination petition with the county clerk by 4 p.m. on the seventieth day before the primary election. For candidates running in the presidential primary election, nomination petitions must be filed on the fourth Friday in March. The nominating petition must contain at least fifteen (15) and not more than twenty (20) signatures of qualified and registered electors in that precinct. A candidate must have a minimum of three votes to be elected (168.607).

An official duty of the precinct delegate is to attend the county or congressional district convention (168.623a). The county or district convention may appoint qualified and registered electors to fill vacant precinct delegate positions.

The Candidate

Candidates for local office may be partisan or non-partisan, depending on the office. "New blood" is always needed in government, and knowledgeable candidates help improve the caliber of elected officials and consequently local grass roots government. Elected officials at the local level often go on to run for higher office. Thus, good government at the local level helps promote good government at higher levels.

There are many non-partisan offices for which citizens may run. City, village, school, library and community college boards are usually non-partisan offices.

Partisan offices include township and county offices, and sometimes library boards. Persons who wish to run for a partisan office must run as a member of a designated party and cannot run as an independent. The only way a person can run as an independent in Michigan is to wage a "write-in" or sticker campaign for a general election.

Information provided by the League of Women Voters.

HOW TO RUN FOR LOCAL OFFICE

Good local government requires citizen participation on the ballot as well as in the polling place. Most townships, villages, small cities and school boards are in need of qualified and interested persons to run for office. Take the BIG STEP and be a CANDIDATE. Here are some very basic hints on how to run for office.

What You Need

- A program.
- A supportive family, inner security, and stamina.
- An assessment of who your supporters might be.
- A dedicated campaign committee and campaign manager.
- Potential financial backing ($200 to $500 minimum for local office).

Helpful Hints for the Candidate

- Always strike a positive tone. Do not attack politicians, fellow candidates, or the "establishments."
- Keep meticulous financial records of where your money comes from and how it is spent. Your county clerk will tell you the legal requirements.
- If you are a woman, run as a person, not as a downtrodden minority. You'll need the votes of men as well as women.
- Forget the philosophical statements. Voters do not vote for eggheads. They vote for down-to-earth, ordinary people with whom they can identify and communicate.
- Before your campaign begins, prepare two or three basic speeches. Keep them short. Keep sentences terse and to the point.
- Speak with conviction, but with willingness to admit you do not have all the answers. Speak slowly.

Outline for a Basic Candidate's Speech

You should answer three basic questions:

1. Who You Are. Tell your name, background, education, family data, and organizational interests and affiliations.

2. Why You Are Running. Tell how you first got interested in the office, your motivations (stress long and continued interest if possible), and what you personally can offer the position, such as time, talent, interest and experience.

3. What Sets You Apart From Other Candidates. Why should voters vote for you? Here is your chance to impress them with your grasp of issues. Discuss them briefly.

Also stress that you need their help, how they can help you, where they can get absentee ballots, how they can get rides to the polls, and the DATE OF THE ELECTION. Always end with the date firmly in their memories.

Calendar for a Campaign

This calendar may be used for both primary and general elections.

Twelve Weeks Before Election Day:

- Learn about the position you seek by attending all related meetings and by reading past minutes and pertinent reports.
- Select a campaign committee, define jobs, and prepare strategy. Your committee should:
    - Consult with the county clerk about requirements for running for office and for reporting campaign financing.
    - Prepare a budget.
    - Circulate nominating petitions.
    - Prepare a solicitation letter.
    - Compile a card file of supporters and workers.
    - Compile a card file for mailing.
    - Develop position papers on issues.
    - Plan news releases and advertising campaigns.
    - Plan promotional techniques, such as: flyers, buttons, bumper stickers, yard signs, and car top signs.
    - Have candidate's picture taken or prepared for media.
    - Organize endorsement advertisements.

Eight Weeks Before Election Day:

- Have the treasurer open a bank account in the name of your committee. (Committee for the Election of Jane Doe.)
- Order flyers, solicitation letters, and other printed material. Newspapers will sell you quantity reprints from ads.
- Keep track of filing date and file petition(s).
- Release news to media upon filing.
- Plan public exposure with your committee: Neighborhood coffees (at least one in each precinct), Luncheons, Speaking engagements with local service clubs and organizations, Candidates night
- Mail out solicitation letters.

- Release to the media information on campaign personnel, especially your treasurer's name and address.

Four Weeks Before Election Day:

- Begin full public exposure.
- Distribute all promotional material in the community, except handout flyers.
- Attend coffees and make public appearances.
- Keep your campaign committee active; this is the crucial time for obtaining votes.

Two Weeks Before Election Day:

- Continue full exposure.
- Meet the public by door-to-door visits, at shopping centers, in supermarkets, and in homes.
- Mail out flyers or hand deliver them door-to-door.
- Begin newspaper advertising.

One Week Before Election Day:

- Begin radio and television spot advertisements, if planned.
- Continue newspaper advertising, including an endorsement ad.
- Continue public exposure.

If You Lose

- TRY AGAIN! The second time you are known and have experience.
- Accept speaking appointments. These will make you better known next time.
- Encourage and aid others with your experience.

From The Green Grass Roots, League of Women Voters of Michigan, 1980.

KNOWING YOUR ELECTED OFFICIALS

Who Represents Me?

Office	Name	Party	Address
U.S. President			
U.S. Senator			
U.S. Senator			
U.S. Representative			
Governor			
Lieutenant Governor			
Secretary of State			
Attorney General			
Superintendent of Public Instruction			
Your State Representative			
Your State Senator			

Do you feel these officials represent your interests? If not, what can you do to improve the situation?

YOUR ELECTED OFFICIALS

Assign students to conduct research on Michigan's incumbent Congressional members--both Senators and nineteen representatives. The reports should include:

a. biographical data
b. committee assignments
c. group ratings
d. key votes
e. election results

The information may be shared with their classmates.

Questions for discussion:

1. What makes a Congressional member "popular"?

2. Why do you think some Congressional members have a long tenure in Congress? A short tenure in Congress?

3. If the Congressional member is up for re-election, can you, at this time, predict his/her failure and/or success? Why or why not?

Sources: The office of the Congressional member
Barone, Michael and Ujifusa, Grant. THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS 1982: THE PRESIDENT, THE SENATORS, THE REPRESENTATIVES, THE GOVERNORS: THEIR RECORDS AND ELECTION RESULTS, THEIR STATES AND DISTRICTS. Washington, D.C.: Barone & Company, 1982.

Scammon, Richard M. and McGillivray, Alice V. AMERICA VOTES 12: A HANDBOOK OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ELECTION STATISTICS. 1976. Elections Research Center. Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1977.

League of Women Voters

LEARNING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES

Encourage students to write letters to the candidates asking for information regarding:

a. the candidate qualifications

b. the candidate's position(s) regarding specific issues

c. the past political record of the candidate if he/she were an incumbent

d. possible participation as a campaign worker

Encourage students to attend political meetings and/or rallies to meet the candidates and to learn the candidate's position regarding various state and national issues. Students may wish to record the meeting on a tape recorder and/or interview the candidate if the candidate is willing. After the experience, students may share some of the following information with their classmates:

1. Why is the candidate seeking the office?
2. What are the candidate's qualifications?
3. If the candidate is an incumbent, what is his/her political record?
4. What is the candidate's position on major issues such as unemployment, taxes, education, etc.?
5. Does the student think that a prediction of the candidate's success or failure at the poll can be made at this time? Why or why not?
6. What is the student's personal reaction to the candidate? What qualities of leadership and commitment best describes the candidate?

COMMUNICATING WITH YOUR PUBLIC OFFICIALS

National

The Honorable...
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
Dear Mr. President

The Honorable...
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
Dear Senator...

The Honorable...
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
Dear Mr. or Ms....

State

The Honorable...
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Lansing, MI 48903
Dear Governor...

The Honorable...
Senate
State Capitol
Lansing, MI 48902
Dear Senator...

The Honorable...
House of Representatives
State Capitol
Lansing, MI 48901
Dear Mr. or Ms....

LETTER - Be brief (one issue per letter). Identify a bill. State your position and give reasons.

WESTERN UNION (1-800-325-5300) - Public Opinion Message: $4.25 for 20 words. Same day delivery. Mailgram: $4.45 for 50 words. Delivery in next day's mail.

TELEPHONE:

State Capital Building Information: (517) 373-1837
White House Switchboard: (202) 456-1414
Capital Hill Switchboard: (202) 224-3121

PERSON - Attend meetings of governmental bodies. Make advance request for time on the agenda if you wish to speak.

How to address your public officials

In Washington, D.C.
U.S. President:
The Honorable ____________________
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
Dear Mr. President:
Very respectfully yours,

U.S. Senator
The Honorable ____________________
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
Dear Senator ____________________:
Sincerely yours,

U.S. Representative
The Honorable ____________________
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
Dear Mr. or Ms. ____________________:

In Lansing, Michigan

Governor:
The Honorable ____________________
Office of the Governor
State Capitol, Box 30013
Lansing, Michigan 48909
Dear Governor ____________________:

State Senator
The Honorable ____________________
Senate
State Capitol, Box 30036
Lansing, Michigan 48909
Dear Senator ____________________:

State Representative
The Honorable ____________________
House of Representatives
State Capitol, Box 30014
Lansing, Michigan 48909
Dear Mr. or Ms. ____________________:

Writing your representative about a problem that concern you

Americans who wish to communicate with their representative usually do so by letter. The sort of reply they receive (or don't receive!) is a good indication of the concern their representative feels for those he is representing.

Who is your representative?

How long has this person served as a representative?

What is your representative's mailing address?

Decide on one problem that affects you and your family and that may be remedied or explained by your representative. Describe this problem here:

What action or explanation do you feel your representative should provide?

Write your representative concerning the problem you have described above. On what date did you mail your letter?

When did you receive a reply?

Who replied to your letter?

Summarize this reply in terms of how well it answered your questions and helped with the problem about which you wrote.

Based on this single instance, how much interest does your representative appear to have in you and your problems?

The Citizen Information Center

The Citizens' Information Center can tell you about:

- Status of legislative bills
- Agencies that can handle your problem
- Names and addresses of government officials
- Michigan constitution and laws
- Taxes in Michigan
- Voting information
- Election laws, campaigns and dates
- LWV publications

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-292-5823

in Lansing 484-3086

YOU AND A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

There are many ways people participate in political campaigns. Voting, volunteering time and money, trying to convince others of a particular point of view and/or actually running for office are examples. Political participation can be divided into four basic types. They are:

A. Observer - becoming aware of the candidates, the issues and the candidates' stands on the issues.

B. Supporter - working on behalf of the candidate(s) of one's choice.

C. Advocate - stating a position and presenting reasons to try to convince others.

D. Organizer - planning, managing and leading activities. Making sure decisions are made and that the decisions are then carried out.

1. Read the following examples of participation in a political campaign. Label each example as to the type of participation it demonstrates.

"I helped out in the campaign office running the ditto machines, answering phone calls, licking stamps, whatever needed to be done. It was really exciting being part of politics."

"We had a list of all the voters. We called them on the phone and talked to them about the campaign and the views of our candidate."

"One day my sister and I went to hear the candidates debate the issues. We took paper with us so we could write down what each candidate said on each issue. Afterwards, we talked with others to get their impressions. I don't know who I'm going to support yet but I'm beginning to understand the differences between the two candidates."

"In this last campaign I helped plan the candidate's speaking schedule. I had to decide where and when the candidate would make public appearances. One of the most interesting things I did was to advise the candidate about the issues each candidate would be most interested in."

2. Now think of ways you have or could participate in a campaign. It could be an election in your school, local community, your state or national campaign. What types of participants or roles have you identified? For example, what have you done or could you do to participate as an advocate?

3. What could you do to encourage others to participate?

Used by permission of the Close Up Foundation.

ACTIVITY

Ask students to go to local campaign headquarters to find out what they do and to pick up posters and campaign literature. Be sure that students visit the headquarters of more than one party or candidate.

WIN
WIN
WIN
WIN
WIN
WIN
WIN
WIN
WIN

Political Party Quiz

Rules governing political parties vary from state to state. This quiz will help students find out about party organization in their state, and how they can affiliate or become active. Major parties usually have city and/or county offices where students may go for information. Minor parties will have fewer local offices.

1. How can people join each party?
2. Where must someone go to join?
3. Is there a special time to join?
4. May voters change their party affiliation once they have joined? How? Where? When?
5. Who represents the neighborhoods around your school, on each local party committee? Is he/she elected or appointed? When? Where? By whom?
6. What are the duties of the local party committee?
7. Does the local committee endorse candidates?
8. Who are the party's state committee members? How are they chosen? What are their duties?
9. Who are the party's state committee members? How are they chosen? What are their duties?
10. Can someone who is not enrolled or registered in a party vote in the primary or caucus?
11. How, when and where are local candidates nominated? state? congressional?
12. If candidates are nominated by state convention or caucus, how, when, and where are delegates to the state convention/caucus selected?
13. How are delegates from your state (or other area) selected to attend the national convention?

HOW TO FOLLOW THE CAMPAIGN

A major political campaign, with all its excitement, activity and extensive news coverage, becomes the focus of attention during the busy few months between nomination and the general election. Even a primary campaign can generate a lot of interest, especially when there is a real contest. Teachers can take advantage of this interest to make the political campaign a laboratory for the study of the art and science of politics in America.

- Assign each student, or group of students, to track the campaign of each candidate. Don't just cover the major party candidates. To give students a sense of the many choices before the American voter, have students follow the campaigns of independent candidates, minor or new party candidates and candidates for congressional, state and local offices. Students can get information from newspapers, TV, radio and news magazines. They can collect campaign literature, promotional materials and issue statements. They can report on TV advertising, campaign appearances and debates. Suggest a visit to campaign headquarters, and an interview with the candidate or campaign staff.

- Have students monitor one evening of television during the height of the campaign and report on the frequency, length and content of campaign ads. How many talk shows present candidates? How much of TV news programing is devoted to the campaign? Which candidates are covered?

- Have the class designate the major issues of the campaign. Remember that an "issue" offers the voters a choice on something of importance--it reflects a significant public concern that can actually be addressed by the holder of the office being sought. Assign students to determine each candidate's stand on the issues they chose as important. Are there really major disagreements between opposing candidates, or are there merely differences of style or approach?

- The financing of political campaigns is regulated by federal, state and local laws. Learn about the laws in your state, and about the limits, public contributions and disclosure requirements provided by the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA). Write to the Federal Election Commission (Office of Public Records, 1325 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20463) to find out how to get information about:

  Who is making contributions to federal candidates.
  How much money is being spent on federal candidates.
  What campaign funds are being used for: bumper stickers, TV time, public opinion polls, etc.

From Social Education, February, 1984.

THE VOTER, ELECTIONS, AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Democracy Is Not A Spectator Sport

Are you a citizen of the United States who will be 18 years old by election day? Will you have been a resident of Michigan and your voting precinct for 30 days by election day? If your answers are "yes," then you have the privilege and responsibility to become a registered voter. By registering to vote and casting your informed ballot, you have an opportunity to express your wishes about your government.

Voters are registered by the elected clerks in city, township and village offices, or by their deputized registrars who may also be in special places in the community. Voters may also register at the local office of the secretary of state when applying for, renewing or correcting drivers' licenses. Registration is permanent provided that the voter does not move outside the community. In the event a registered voter does not vote in any election over a 4-year period, the registration may be placed in an inactive file. This administrative procedure does not jeopardize the registration. When a voter moves to a new community and registers there, part of the registration process is to fill out a card which is sent to the clerk of the voter's former city or township to cancel the previous registration.

"Residence" for registration and voting purposes means the place where a person regularly lives and keeps personal effects or, in the case of more than one residence, where the person spends the greater part of his or her time. College students or members of the armed forces living away from home may choose to keep their residence in their home town, or may change their residence to the community where they are temporarily residing. They may not register to vote in both places.

Residents of villages must register to vote both with the village clerk, for village elections, and with the township clerk, for all other elections, including school elections. State administrative officials encourage the two local clerks to cooperate to permit voters who register in either jurisdiction to be registered automatically in the other.

Absentee Voting

Michigan law allows for voting by absentee ballot under certain circumstances. Absentee ballots may be obtained from the local clerk's office by mail before 2 p.m. the Saturday before the election, or in person until 2 p.m. the day preceding the election.

You may vote in any election by absentee ballot if: 1) you expect to be absent from your precinct; 2) you are unable to go to the polls because of illness, physical disability, religious principles, or working in another precinct; 3) are 60 years of age or older; or, 4) are confined to jail awaiting arraignment or trial. (Convicted prisoners do not qualify for absentee voting.) Ballots must be returned to the clerk's office by the closing of the polls on election day.

Voting Procedures

Polls open at 7 a.m. and close at 8 p.m. on election day. All persons in line at 8 p.m. will be permitted to vote. Persons who are blind or disabled may have assistance in the voting booth. Write-in votes may be cast for candidates whose names do not appear on the ballot. Election officials are responsible for explaining procedure and rendering assistance when necessary. Sample ballots are required to be on display at each precinct.

From The State We're In, League of Women Voters of Michigan.

THE PRESIDENTIAL HATS ACTIVITY

D. Rosalind Hammond and Emily A. Melvin

D. Rosalind Hammond is Assistant Professor at Bowling Green State University, Ohio. Emily A. Melvin is Associate Professor at Auburn University, Alabama.

The presidential election will be a major focus in most social studies classes this year. The "Presidential Hats Activity" is designed to assist students in enhancing their decision-making skills related to personal choice of a presidential candidate. This five-day activity, emphasizing organization and information-processing techniques, promotes a systematic evaluation of the qualifications of each major presidential candidate.

Twelve presidential roles, or "hats," are examined in this student-centered activity. Ten of these roles are based on those identified by Clinton Rossiter in The American Presidency. (Several role titles have been changed to reflect contemporary terminology.) The ten are: Head of State, Executive Leaders, Head of Armed Forces, Diplomatic Leader, Legislative Leader, Head of Party, Voice of the People, Protector of the Peace, Manager of Prosperity, and Global Leader.

Additional information on these roles is available in American Political Behavior, a social studies textbook by Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick.

Two additional roles have been identified by the activity authors: Human Rights Leader and Projector of Personal Image. Regarding human rights responsibilities of the President, resource material can be obtained in Louis W. Koenig's The Chief Executive, as well as other current political science sources. Finally, the role of projecting a personal image deals with the way in which the President appears to the public through his or her own personal conduct. This personal behavior reflects an established code of ethics and philosophical orientation, as well as to other lifestyle preferences. Resource materials are available for this role description through biographical literature and popular press sources.

Using the group investigation approach, the activity can be adapted for use in a variety of instructional settings. It can be used, for example, to prepare classes to engage in role-playing, gaming, or simulation activities. It can be introduced in other student-centered learning experiences leading toward basic skills improvement as well as current events orientation.

Resources

In addition to the references cited, the teacher will find Models of Teaching, by Bruce Joyce and Marsha Weil, to be a worthwhile resource. This book provides a comprehensive description of the group investigation model used throughout this activity. Student-related materials include:

1. Twelve teacher-made task cards identifying the presidential roles to be investigated by small groups and outlining procedures to be followed in this investigation. (See task card example.)
2. Twelve presidential hats, each designed and decorated by small groups of students, symbolizing a role or responsibility of the presidency.
3. Posters, transparencies, or other visual aids formulated by the students groups to rank presidential candidates in the 12 role areas.

Outline of Activity

Preconditions: Pre-test will be administered and evaluated by the teacher prior to the start of the activity to determine its relevance. The pre- and post-test will require students to identify the major presidential candidates with respective political party membership and to list and describe the 12 presidential roles.

Evaluation of the activity will be based on a comparison of pre- and post-test scores, informal teacher observations during the activity, identification of student roles and assigned responsibilities, and group and individual ranking of each presidential candidate's performance in the 12 role areas.

DAY 1

Step One: Identify the Issue To Be Investigated

Implementation:

Through class discussion the students will:

1. Determine the issue, "Who is the most qualified presidential candidate?" (as determined by his/her mastery of the 12 presidential roles). Information to be used when measuring this mastery can be obtained from current media sources. It should include candidate's experience, candidate's expressed political views, and party platform of candidate.
2. Identify the major presidential candidates and their parties.
3. Record their presidential candidate preference on a class-wide tally sheet (anonymously). Discuss totals.
4. Describe the relationship between the concepts of role responsibility and the "wearing of a hat."

Step Two: Explore Student Reactions to the Issue

Implementation:

After class discussion, students will identify possible criteria to be used in the selection of the President.

Step Three: Formulate and Organize Study Tasks

Implementation:

Twelve student groups (two or three students per group) will be formed by the teacher.

A task card will be given to each group by the teacher. (See task card example.) Collectively, each group will assign individual responsibilities for mastery of the study task.

(Supplemental Assignment: Students are to bring to class available related resource materials.)

DAY 2

Step Four: Independent and Group Study

Implementation:

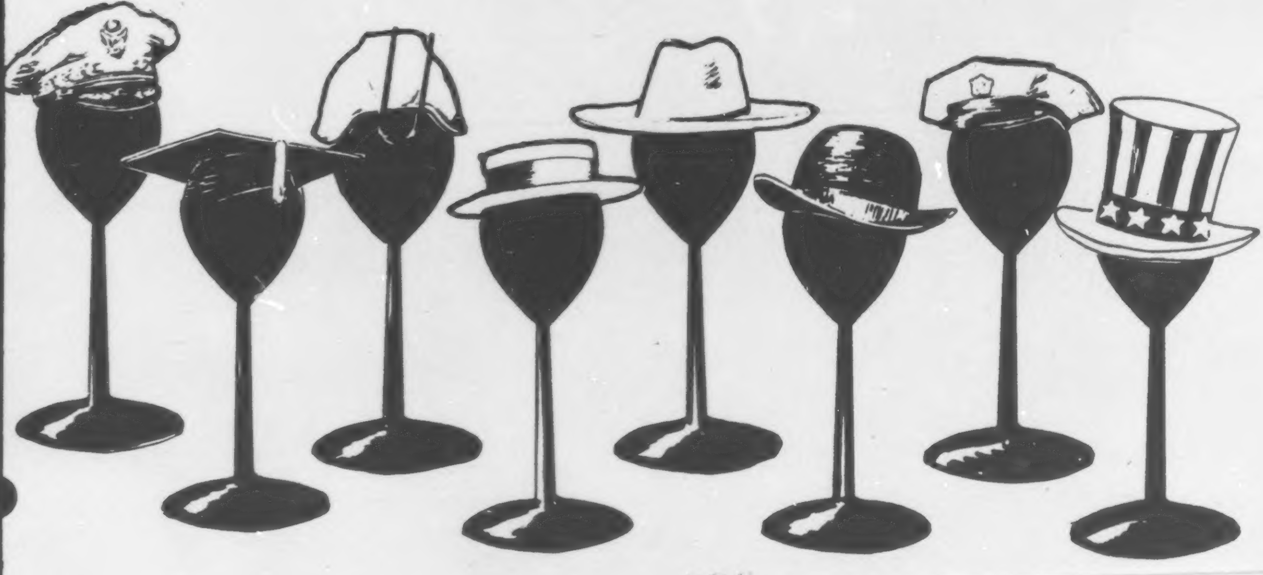
During this in-class work day, group members will consult available resource materials to fulfill the assignment outlined on the task cards.

DAY 3

Each group will summarize its findings by constructing a visual aid conveying a rating as well as a rating justification for each presidential candidate with respect to the specific role. A rating scale will be provided by the teacher to foster consistency among groups.

A designated student within each group will finalize the construction of the presidential "hat" signifying the group's role.

Each group will organize a presentation for the following class meeting, identifying the group members who will (1) display the presidential hat, (2) conduct the class discussion in which fellow classmates identify the role as revealed by the hat and state the specific role responsibilities, and (3) convey candidate rating and rating justification.



Task Card Example

Front Side:

TASK CARD **TOP SECRET**

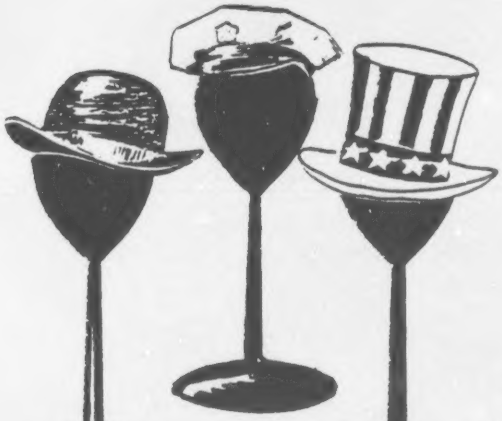
(Presidential Seal will be displayed here)

DO NOT REVEAL YOUR PRESIDENTIAL ROLE TO ANYONE OUTSIDE YOUR GROUP

Your presidential role is: **HEAD OF THE ARMED FORCES**

Your tasks are: Day 2: (1) Define this role. (2) List all duties of the President as HEAD OF THE ARMED FORCES. (3) Look at each major presidential candidate in terms of his/her qualifications as HEAD OF ARMED FORCES; look at the candidate's past experiences, what he or she has said related to this role, and party platform. Day 3: (4) Construct a poster, transparency, or other visual aid that tells *how* and *why* your group rated each candidate as a potential HEAD OF THE ARMED FORCES. (Be sure to use the rating scale provided.) (5) Design and construct a hat that a President could wear when acting as HEAD OF THE ARMED FORCES. The hat should contain clues as to role responsibilities.

(continued on back of card)



Reverse Side:

On Day 4 there will be a CLASS PRESENTATION. Your task is to: (1) Display the hat and ask other classmates to identify the specific role and responsibilities as indicated by the design of the hat. (2) Present your group's candidate rating (through the use of your visual aid) and explain your reasons. (3) Award the hat to the candidate that your group believes will be the best HEAD OF THE ARMED FORCES.

HINTS: Divide this task among group members—meet each day to check individual progress. Practice your presentation.

LEARN HOW TO REGISTER TO VOTE

Registration is the gateway to the electoral process. In every state except North Dakota, you must be registered in order to vote. Getting registered has not always been easy. The barriers are coming down, however; many of the administrative obstacles that once existed have been removed, and the federal Voting Rights Act has helped to open the gates for millions of minority citizens. But problems still exist. Once citizens are registered, most do vote. But often information about how, where and when to vote is hard to find, and inconvenient polling places and hours discourage voters. The Constitution of the United States grants all citizens 18 and over the right to vote, but each state may determine its own election laws. (Check the Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twenty-sixth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution for limits on states' power.) Registration and election procedures vary widely from state to state. Research on local registration and election procedures can help prepare those soon to be 18 for their upcoming registration and for casting that all-important first vote. Beyond this, an action-minded high school class can help to improve access to registration and voting if students understand the problems and needs. Use the checklist below to help students in their research.

Federal Law Governing Registration and Voting

- What federal laws apply specifically to voting for president and vice-president?
- What rights do overseas residents have to vote in U.S. elections by absentee ballot?
- Is your state covered by the special provisions of the Voting Rights Act? What special requirements does this coverage entail?
- What provisions of the Voting Rights Act apply to all states?

State Laws Governing Registration and Voting

- What are the residency requirements for registration and voting?
- Is registration by mail permitted? By application or post-card? Is notarization required?
- Is there a deadline for registering? How far in advance of election day?
- Are voters removed from registration lists for nonvoting? How often? How are they notified?
- Does state law allow deputy registrars?
- Are there requirements for a full-time registrar in each city or county? Must the registrar's office be open during certain hours--any evenings or weekends?
- Who is eligible to vote in primary elections?
- How are delegates to the national party nominating conventions chosen?
- Who may vote absentee? Is notarization required? A doctor's certificate? Can application be made by mail?

From Social Education, February, 1984.

PRIVILEGES
of a
REGISTERED VOTER

- May vote in National, State, County, Local School & Special Elections
- May hold elected & appointed public office
- May sign legal petitions
- May serve on a jury
- May become a political party precinct delegate
- May decide the outcome of an election
- May use voter registration card as identification

NEED TO RE-REGISTER

- name change
- address change
- have not voted in any election in five years

1984
ELECTION DATES

June 11	Annual School Election
August 7	Primary Election
November 6	General Election

May I Register By Mail?

You may apply by mail if you are disabled or absent from the community and are unable to register in person. Write to the clerk of your city, township or village and ask to register. The clerk will send forms for you to fill out, have notarized and return.

Can I Register and Vote Where I Attend College?

Yes, you may if attending in Michigan. Or you may maintain your registration in your hometown and vote by absentee ballot.

ACTIVITY

Contact the City Clerk, or Deputy City Clerk and have the person give a presentation in school on the procedures for obtaining a registration certificate.

VOTING

What are the requirements to vote?

You must be registered in order to vote.

Where do I vote?

Vote in the precinct in which you reside. When you register, the clerk will give you a card which gives the location of your precinct and polling place. The card also lists the district numbers of your U.S. Representative, State Representative, State Senator and County Commissioner. A list of the locations of polling places for precincts appears in local newspapers before each election.

Am I eligible to vote by absentee ballot?

You are eligible to vote absentee if you:

1. expect to be absent from your precinct on election day (i.e., an election worker in a precinct other than your own.)
2. are unable to go to the polls because of illness, physical disability or religious tenets.
3. are 60 years of age or older.
4. are confined in jail awaiting arraignment or trial. (Persons in prison do not qualify for absentee voting.)

How do I get an absentee ballot?

Apply for an absentee ballot in person or by mail from the clerk's office before 2 p.m. the Saturday preceding the election. Complete your absentee ballot and return it to the clerk's office in person before the polls open or by mail. In order to be counted, it must reach the clerk by the closing of the polls on election day. If an emergency occurs after the 2 p.m. Saturday deadline, an emergency request for an absentee ballot may be made until 4 p.m. on election day. The emergency is restricted to physical disability or absence from the voting community because of sickness or death in the family.

What if I have just moved to Michigan and the presidential election is 2 weeks away?

If you cannot meet Michigan's residency requirements before the election, apply to the clerk in your former state for an absentee ballot for the presidential election only. Application for this type of ballot authorizes cancellation of your voting registration in your former state.

What if I am stationed outside the U.S.?

If you are a member or employee of the armed forces living outside the U.S. and are otherwise qualified, you may make a single application to the clerk at your permanent place of residence for both registration forms and absentee ballots.

How do I work the voting machine? How does punch card voting work? How do I vote for a write-in candidate?

On election day, election workers are required to offer you instructions on using the machine or voting with punch cards. You may also request instruction from the clerk before election day.

From League of Women Voters.

ELECTIONS

When do I vote?

On election days, the polls are always open from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. State elections are held in even numbered years, most city elections in odd numbered years.

State Primary Election

The Primary is held in August on the first Tuesday after the first Monday preceding every General Election. The primary election is a nominating election. The purpose is to select a person from your political party to run as a candidate in the general election. Therefore you will be able to vote for the candidates of only one party. You indicate your party preference in the privacy of the voting booth.

How do political parties qualify for a place on the ballot?

A political party may nominate candidates by direct vote in the Primary if at least one of its candidates in the preceding state election received 5% of the total vote cast for Secretary of State.

A political party may nominate candidates by caucus or convention if its principal candidate received at least 1% of the total vote cast for the winning candidate for Secretary of State but less than 5% of the total vote cast for all candidates for Secretary of State in the preceding election.

If a political party has not met either requirement, it may gain access to the General Election ballot by submitting petitions containing the signatures of registered and qualified electors equal to not less than 1% nor greater than 4% of the votes received by the successful candidate for Secretary of State in the preceding election.

Whom will I be nominating?

Candidates for the following offices are nominated in the Primary: (Partisan Ballot) U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative, Governor, State Senator, State Representative, County Officers and Commissioners, Township Officers and Trustees. (Nonpartisan Ballot) Judges of Court of Appeals, Circuit Court, Probate Court, District Court.

Candidates for other offices on the General Election ballot are nominated at political party conventions.

November General Election

The General Election is held the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November in even numbered years. Candidates are those previously nominated at the August Primary or at political party conventions.

The President and Vice President are elected in leap years. In alternate even numbered years, the Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General and State Senators are elected. The terms of some offices (such as U.S. Senators, Judges) are staggered. Some federal offices will therefore appear on the state election ballot.

In addition to electing public officials, voters may be asked to vote on ballot issues.

Presidential Primary Elections

In a presidential election year, on the third Tuesday in May, voters express their preference among presidential candidates as a guide to their political party's nominating convention. Note: This may be eliminated by action of the legislature.

Precinct Delegate Elections

Precinct delegates are elected in the August Primary or in the Presidential Primary, depending on party rules.

Local Elections/School Elections

Various local elections are set by law or charter to nominate and elect city, village and township officials, and school and community college boards. Check with your local clerk for dates of local elections.

From League of Women Voters.

LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF REGISTRATION AND VOTING

- Who manages elections in your city or county? How are they chosen? Are the major parties represented? How about women and minorities? What are their powers and responsibilities?

- Do election officials in your community reach out to citizens to encourage registration and voting? DO they deputize citizens to help them? Are there registration opportunities on evenings and weekends in places where citizens gather, such as shopping centers and high schools?

- Is there adequate information available about registration and voting? Who supplies it?

REGISTRATION AND VOTING DATA

- What percentage of the voting age population (18+) is registered to vote?

- Which groups or neighborhoods are underrepresented among registered voters?

- What percentage of those registered voted in the last election? In the last presidential election?

- What percentage of students in your high school who are over 18 (or will be 18 by the next election) are registered to vote? How many of them are planning to vote?

WHAT STUDENTS CAN DO

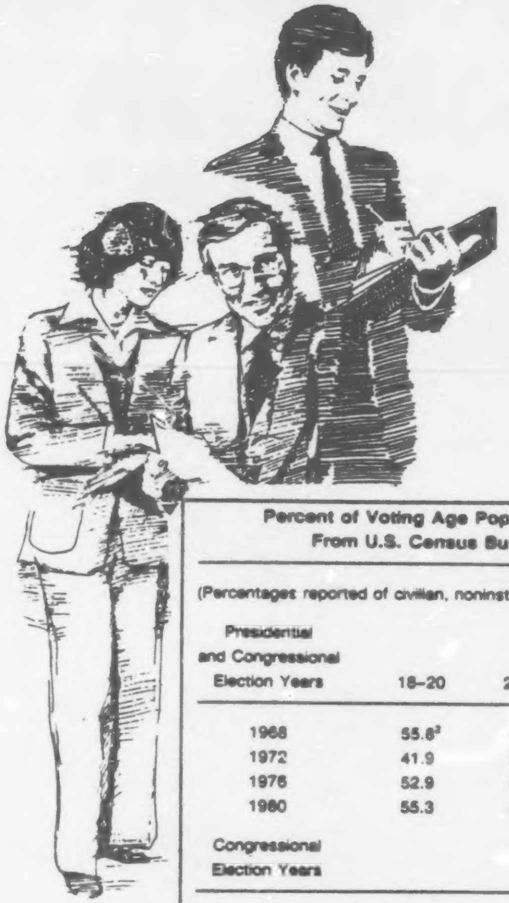
- Print and distribute the information you have gathered about registration--who can register, where, when, and how.

- Register 18-year-olds in your school (if permitted by state law).

- Organize volunteers to register shut-ins in nursing homes, hospitals and at home. Coordinate with social service agencies.

- Set up a childcare center at the polls or arrange transportation for the elderly or handicapped.

- Plan an assembly program on registration and voting--bring in election officials to explain procedures.



Percent of Voting Age Population *NOT* Registered From U.S. Census Bureau Survey Data[1]

(Percentages reported of civilian, noninstitutional population)

Presidential and Congressional Election Years	18–20	21–24	25–34	All ages
1968	55.8[2]	43.6	31.7	25.8
1972	41.9	40.5	31.6	27.7
1976	52.9	45.2	37.8	33.3
1980	55.3	47.3	38.0	33.1
Congressional Election Years				
1966	66.1[2]	55.5	38.6	29.8
1970	62.7[2]	59.2	40.6	32.6
1974	63.6	54.7	45.4	37.8
1978	65.3	54.9	44.5	37.4
1982	65.0	52.2	42.9	35.9

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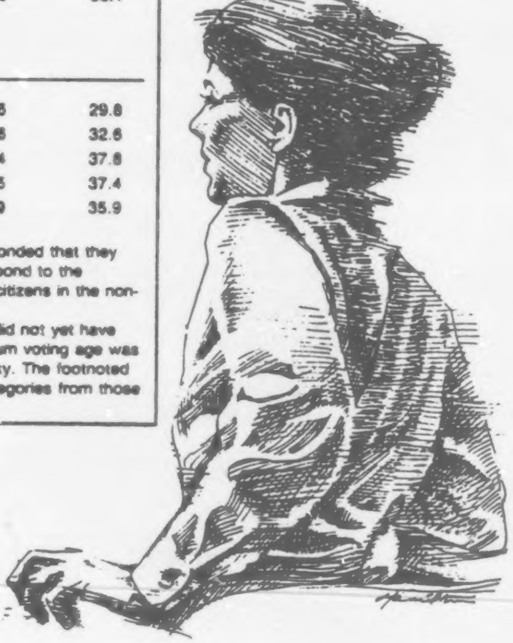
[1] The population not registered includes citizens who responded that they did not know whether they were registered or did not respond to the question. (Before 1978, the Census Bureau included non-citizens in the non-registered category.)

[2] During 1966, 1968, and 1970 persons 18–20-years old did not yet have the right to vote, with the following exceptions: the minimum voting age was 20 in Hawaii, 19 in Alaska, and 18 in Georgia and Kentucky. The footnoted figures include the percent not registered in those age categories from those states.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

QUALIFICATIONS, RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF ELECTION CHALLENGERS

Election challengers may be appointed by political parties and qualified interest groups to observe the electoral process in voting precincts and counting board precincts. Challengers are permitted to challenge the actions of election inspectors and the right of individuals to vote if they feel that election law is not being followed or have reason to believe that an individual is not qualified to vote in the precinct. This brochure provides information on the qualifications, rights and duties of election challengers.

Appointing Election Challengers

Political parties may appoint election challengers to serve at partisan and nonpartisan elections. The appointments may be made at any time up through the date of the election and are usually the responsibility of the county chairpersons of the political party. A political party is not permitted to have more than one challenger serving in a precinct at one time.

Interest groups which support or oppose the passage of a proposal on the election ballot or which have an interest in preserving the purity of elections may appoint election challengers if authorized to do so. To apply for authorization an interest group must file, not less than 10 days nor more than 20 days prior to the election, the following two items with the clerk of the political unit in which the election will be held:

1. A statement which sets forth the intention of the group to appoint challengers at the election and the reason why the group feels it is qualified under the law to make the appointments. The statement must be signed and sworn to by a recognized officer of the group.

2. A sample "challenger card" which will be carried by the challengers the group appoints. The card must have space for the challenger's name, the group's name, the precinct to which the challenger is assigned, and the signature of a recognized officer of the group.

An interest group authorized to appoint election challengers is not permitted to have more than one challenger serving in a precinct at one time.

Candidates may not appoint election challengers.

An Official Challenger:

- Must be a registered and qualified elector of the city or township in which serving.
- Must represent a recognized political party or an interest group which is authorized to appoint election challengers at the election.
- May not be a candidate for any elective office in the election. EXCEPTION: A candidate for county convention delegate may serve as an election challenger in a precinct other than the one in which he or she is a candidate.
- May not serve as an election inspector in the election.
- May not campaign, distribute campaign material or wear campaign buttons in precinct.

Credentials

A challenger must have in his or her possession a "challenger card" issued by the party or organization he or she represents. Upon entering the precinct, the challenger must exhibit the card to the chairperson of the election board. It is recommended that a challenger also wear an identification badge.

Conduct

Challengers must conduct themselves in an orderly manner at all times. A challenger can be expelled from a precinct for:

- Unnecessarily obstructing or delaying the work of the election inspectors.
- Touching ballots, election materials or voting equipment.
- Drinking alcoholic beverages or acting in a disorderly manner.

Rights of Challengers

It is the duty of the election board to provide space for challengers which will enable them to observe all election procedures being carried out.

In a voting precinct challengers are permitted to observe from within the voting area.

Election challengers have the right to:

- Examine punch card devices and voting machine counters before the polls open and after the polls close.
- Observe each person offering to vote. (Challengers may not observe electors voting.)
- Observe the processing of voters.
- Inspect the Applications to Vote, Poll Books, registration records and any other materials used to process voters at the polling place. (When carrying out the inspection, challengers may not touch the applications, Poll Books, registration records or other materials being used by the election board.)
- Inspect ballots (including absent voter ballots) as they are being counted. (When carrying out the inspection, challengers may not touch the ballots.)
- Keep notes on the persons offering to vote, election procedures and the actions of the board.
- Remain in the precinct until the board completes its work.

The Challenge

Challengers are encouraged to take detailed notes on the challenges they make. In all cases, challenges must be made in a polite, calm manner.

Challenging Voters: If a challenger has reason to believe that a person who offers to vote is not qualified to vote in the precinct, a challenge may be made immediately after the voter completes a ballot application. The challenge is directed to the chairperson of the election board. The chairperson of the election board or an election inspector designated by the chairperson is responsible for supervising the challenge to make sure that it is conducted promptly and courteously. A voter challenge proceeds as follows:

1. After the challenge is made, the challenged person takes the oath printed below. The oath is administered by the chairperson of the election board or a designated election inspector.

"I swear (or affirm) that I will truly answer all questions put to me concerning my qualifications as a voter."

2. After the oath has been administered the board chairperson or a designated election inspector may question the challenged voter. Election law stipulates that the questions be confined to the person's qualifications as a voter.

3. A challenged voter is permitted to vote if the answers given under oath prove that he or she is qualified to vote in the precinct. The challenged voter's ballot is marked so that it can be retrieved in the event that the party or group represented by the challenger initiates legal proceedings on the matter at a later date.

4. A challenged voter may not vote if he or she refuses to take the oath, answer the questions under oath or proves not to be qualified to vote by answers given under oath.

WARNING: It is a misdemeanor to challenge qualified elector for the purpose of annoying or delaying the voter; challenges may not be made indiscriminately or without good cause.

Challenging Absentee Ballots: If a challenger has reason to believe that an absentee ballot was submitted by a person who is not qualified to vote in the community, a challenge may be made. A challenged absentee ballot is marked by the chairperson of the election board and voted.

Challenging the Board: If a challenger has reason to believe that an election procedure is not being performed properly, the actions of the election board may be challenged by consulting with the board chairperson. If the chairperson rejects the challenge, the challenger has the right to take the matter to the clerk of the city or township or the secretary of the school board.

RECALL

Recall is an extraordinary event and requires extraordinary effort on the part of anyone wishing to remove a public official from office. There are many requirements: signatures, six months in office, 25% of the vote for Governor, reasons, certificates, and many deadlines: 90 days, 5 days, 24 hours, 35 days, 8 days.

Laws relating to recall are contained in the election laws, with the most recent revisions contained in P.A. 533 of 1978, P.A. 2 of 1979, and P.A. 456 of 1982. Recall provisions are rigid and complex. They were purposely drafted to make it more difficult to recall public officials for frivolous reasons; therefore, recall questions reaching the ballot have been infrequent. Reasons, for recall, however, are not limited to malfeasance or non-feasance in office, but need only to be stated clearly enough to be understood by both the officer and the electors.

In view of recent successful recall petition drives, public understanding of the mechanics and provisions of the recall process assumes greater importance.

I. RECALL REQUIREMENTS

Who can be recalled

Except for judicial officers, every officer in the state is subject to recall by the voters of the electoral district in which that officer is elected. A petition to recall an officer cannot be filed until the officer has actually performed the duties for six (6) months during the current term. The officer continues to serve until the election and is thereafter removed if the vote results in recall.

The petitions

Petitions must meet size and print requirements, state clearly the reasons for the recall, and contain a certificate of the circulator, usually on the reverse side in a form prescribed by the secretary of state.

Before being circulated, the petitions must be submitted to a board of county election commissioners of the county in which the officer resides. The board then has 10 - 20 days to determine whether the reasons are stated clearly enough to be understood by the officer whose recall is sought and by the electors. Within 24 hours of the time the petitions are received, the board of election commissioners notifies the officer of the reasons stated on the recall petitions, and the date when the board will consider those reasons.

Both the officer and the sponsors of the recall may appear at the meeting of the election commissioners and present arguments on the clarity of the reasons presented. The board's decision may be appealed to the circuit court by either the officer or the sponsors within 10 days after the board of election commissioner's decision.

The county clerk has blank petition forms on hand for use by electors, or the sponsors may use their own petitions if they follow the form prescribed by the secretary of state.

Heading

The petition heading must contain the name of the city or township and county in which the petition will be circulated. The name of the officer subject to recall, the office, and the reasons for the recall. Only one officeholder's name may appear on any one petition.

Who can sign

Recall petitions may be signed only by registered and qualified electors in the district from which the officer was elected. The signature of the elector and the address and the date of signing must be included.

An elector may sign a petition sheet in any location where it is available, but must use one which designates his or her city or township of residence. Otherwise the signature will be invalid.

How many signatures

Recall petitions must be signed by at least 25% of the number of votes cast for all candidates for governor at the last election in that district, as certified on written demand by the county clerk.

Circulators

A circulator must attest on the petition to being a qualified and registered elector in the district, and must state that all signatures were obtained in his or her presence without fraud, deceit or misrepresentation.

After all the signatures have been obtained, the circulator must sign the certificate and date it. If the circulator's signature predates any of the signatures on the petition, those signatures are invalid.

II. FILING AND CERTIFICATION OF PETITIONS

Where to file

Petitions demanding the recall of U.S. Senators and Representatives, state senators and representatives, elective state officers, except the secretary of state, and county officers, except county commissioners, are filed with the secretary of state. Those for the secretary of state are filed with the governor.

Recall petitions for county commissioners, or township, city, village or school officials are filed with the county clerk.

How to file

All petition sheets for any one officer must be filed at the same time. The filing officer issues a receipt showing the date of the filing, the number of petition sheets field, and the number of signatures claimed by the filer.

Notifying the officer

The officer whose recall is being sought must be notified in writing that the recall petition has been filed. This must be done no later than the business day following the filing.

Under the Freedom of Information Act, any person can see or make copies of the petition sheets filed with the county clerk, who may charge only for the direct costs of mailing, duplication and clerical work.

Examining the petition

Within seven days, the filing officer determines if the recall petitions are in proper form and if the number of signatures on the petition is sufficient. The filing official does not accept a signature when

1) the circulator's certificate is incorrect;
2) the heading is improperly completed;
3) the reasons for recall differ from those allowed by the county board of election commissioners;
4) the signature was obtained before the meeting of the county board of election commissioners;
5) the signature was obtained more than 90 days before the petition was filed.

Insufficiency

If it is determined that the form of the petition is improper or that the number of signatures is insufficient, the circulator is notified, but only if a notice of sponsorship and a mailing address were filed with the petition. Since all petitions for any one recall must be filed at the same time, any which are rejected are permanently invalid.

Sufficiency

If the number of signatures is in excess of the minimum required, the filing official forwards each petition sheet to the clerk of the city or township to which it applies so that the clerk can compare the names on the petitions with registration records. Within 15 days the clerk must certify the number of signers of each sheet who are registered electors of the city or township and return the petition sheets to the county clerk. As soon as the county clerk finds the petition sufficient, but no later than 35 days after the filing date, the county clerk submits to the election scheduling committee a proposed special election date during the ensuing 60-day period.

Challenge by the officer sought to be recalled

The officer may challenge the validity of any petition signature or the registration of any elector who signed a petition. After the clerk has examined the signatures, the officer is guaranteed no less than 8 days to check them.

Challenges must be in writing, specify the challenged signatures, and be delivered to the filing official within 30 days after the filing of the petitions. Challenged signatures must be compared with those on the original registration cards.

III. THE RECALL ELECTION

Procedures

The procedures governing the recall election of any officer are the same as those by which the officer was elected. The official conducting elections gives notice of the election, prints the ballots, provides election supplies, and does whatever else is necessary to the election procedure.

In the event that the officer whose recall is sought is also the election official, e.g. township, city, village or county clerk, some other impartial public officer with a knowledge of elections is temporarily appointed to conduct the election until the results are known.

Recall ballot

The recall ballot contains a statement of no more than 300 words which sets forth the reason for demanding the recall of an officer. If the statement exceeds this limit, the sponsor has 48 hours to condense it. Otherwise the official preparing the ballot will prepare a condensed statement.

The officer subject to recall is notified in writing of the statement which will appear on the ballot and may then submit a statement of justification which will likewise be printed on the ballot. If the officer provides no such justification statement within 72 hours, none will be printed.

The expense of conducting a recall election is covered in the same manner as a regular election to fill that office.

Canvassing and certification

The results of an election to recall a county commissioner, township, village, city or school official are certified by the board of canvassers in the county where the petition was filed, other recall elections, by the state board of canvassers.

If a majority of votes favors recall, the board of canvassers immediately certifies the result to the official with whom the petition was filed. The office is declared vacant, and the filing official notifies the clerk or secretary of the electoral district and the recalled official of both the results of the election and the date and time of the certification.

If a majority of votes is against recall, the same certification procedure is followed. The officer whose recall was sought remains in office for the rest of the term. No further recall petition can be filed against the same incumbent during the remainder of the term unless the petitioners agree to pay the entire expense of the unsuccessful recall election.

IV. FILLING OF VACANCIES

Special election

Except for governor, offices vacant because of recall are filled at a special election. In some cases, the office may be filled temporarily by appointment until a special election is held.

Governor

The constitution empowers the lieutenant governor to assume the governor's duties in the event of death, absence, illness or inability to serve. Thus, if the governor were to be recalled from office, the lieutenant governor would serve the remainder of the term.

School board

If a majority of a school board remains in office following a recall election, the remaining members may fill any vacancy until an election takes place. If such a vacancy is not filled within 20 days, the intermediate school district board has the authority to fill it.

If less than a majority of a school board remains in office after a recall election, the governor is permitted to appoint individuals to fill the vacancies temporarily. This allows the board to function until a special election can take place.

Nominations for a nonpartisan office

Except for school board members, a candidate for nonpartisan office is nominated by a petition filed with the clerk or secretary of the electoral district before 4 p.m. of the 15th day after a special election following recall is called. The petition must be signed by at least 3% of the registered and qualified electors in the district.

If a special election following recall of a school board member is scheduled at the same time as the annual school election, the nominating petition must be signed by registered voters of the school district numbering at least 1% of the total vote received by the board of education candidate with the greatest number of votes at the last election, but in any case no less than 20.

Nominations for a partisan office

If the vacancy created by recall is that of a U.S. Senator or of a state office holder, the state central committee of each political party nominates a candidate to run for the office.

If the vacancy occurs in a county office or in an electoral district entirely within one county, the county committee of each political party from that district nominates a candidate.

If the vacancy is in an office within an electoral district comprised of more than one county, the members of all the county committees in the district nominate a candidate for the office.

If the vacancy is for a ward or township office, the local committee of each political party nominates the candidate. All nominations by such committees are certified to the official with whom the recall petitions were filed within 15 days after the special election is called.

Calling an election

Within 5 days after receiving notice of the successful recall of an officer, the official with whom the recall petition was filed must submit a proposed date for a special election to be held within 60 days to fill the vacancy. A special election to fill a vacancy must be held concurrently with any primary or election scheduled in that electoral district during the 4 months after certification if there is enough time for the preparations required by law.

If the officer resigns after the filing of recall petitions, the recall procedure stops. If the officer resigns after the calling of the election, no election will be held.

Election

The candidate receiving the highest number of votes for the vacancy created by the recall is considered duly elected for the remainder of the term.

Ineligibility of a recalled officer

An officer who is recalled or who has resigned cannot be elected or appointed to fill the vacancy created by the recall nor hold any elective office in that electoral district or governmental unit until the end of the officers former term of office.

Provided by League of
Women Voters of Michigan

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES ONE VOTE MAKE?

There are some famous instances of elections when one or a few votes made an enormous difference.

In 1844, friends coaxed a grain miller from DeKalb County in Indiana into voting. The candidate he voted for was elected to the Indiana legislature by one vote. At that time, U.S. Senators were still elected by state legislatures. When the legislature convened to select the U.S. Senator, the man from DeKalb County cast the deciding vote that sent Edward Allen Hennegan to the U.S. Senate. Hennegan eventually became President Pro Tem of the Senate. When the question of statehood for Texas came up there was a tie vote. Hennegan broke the tie. So Texas was admitted to the Union because a miller in DeKalb County, Indiana, went ten minutes out of his way to cast 1 vote.

Lyndon Johnson was first elected to the U.S. Senate from Texas by a plurality of 87 votes (hence, called "Landslide Lyndon," later called President Johnson).

In November 1978, the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania wound up with 101 seats occupied by Republicans and 101 seats occupied by Democrats. The vote for the remaining seat was a tie. 8000 eligible voters in that district did not vote. Any one of those 8000 could have determined the majority party in the Pennsylvania legislature.

A school teacher in Salem, Oregon, grew tired of finding no one running on the Democratic ticket for precinct committeeman. In the primary she wrote her own name into the blank space and put an X beside it. Two days later she was notified that she had been elected. She has been carrying the precinct for the Democrats ever since.

From Practical Politics, Ohio Dept. of State, Ohio Dept. of Education.

After the November, 1984 election, have the students bring in the results of the gubernatorial and Congressional races. Check these results with the predictions made by them and by the pollsters.

Questions for discussion:

1. Were the results in the race for governor what you expected? Why or why not? Were the results in the race for Congressional seats what you expected? Why or why not?
2. How closely did the final results compare with your school's predictions?
3. How closely did the final results compare with the Gallup Poll, the NBC pollsters, etc.?
4. Why are predictions important in a political campaign?

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SUGGESTED PARENT/COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Your involvement in the election process can offer a real service to your school by offering events which allow others in the community to explore the election process.

Here are some suggestions of ways to involve parents and members of the community:

1. Invite candidates or their representatives to speak to your class or school. Send special invitations to parents and invite them to hear the speakers. This may also be done as a PTA presentation.
2. If you hold a debate between party workers or hold a press conference you might also invite parents to attend.
3. Students could take a poll or survey in the community and do some actual data collecting.
4. Students could make posters to remind people to vote. You could have local businesses display the posters.
5. Students could offer to drive people to the polls or babysit while people go to the polls.
6. Students could volunteer to assist parties or candidates by stuffing envelopes, making phone calls, etc.
7. Organize a "Meet the Candidate Night" at your school. Or, sponsor a Candidate's Fair which would provide each candidate a table or booth to use for distributing materials or answering questions.

From Improving Citizenship Education, Fulton County Board of Education, Atlanta, Georgia.

ACTIVITY

Participate in an election campaign, local or national.

A. Choose a candidate to work for.

B. Call and visit the candidate's local office.

C. Develop a schedule for volunteer work (minimum of 2 hrs. per week) for 5-10 weeks.

D. Keep a log of time worked and a diary of reactions and experiences.

E. Invite a campaign manager or administrative assistant to class.

ACTIVITY

Apply for a job as an administrative assistant for local elected officials.

Follow the steps above except for C; acceptance is dependent upon the suitability of the job applicant as is the work schedule.

ACTIVITY

Government Services in my community

Activity 1.

Check the appropriate column for who has responsibility for these services. Some may have more than one check.

	Services	Federal	State	County	City Town Village
1.	Driver's License				
2.	Maintaining Roads				
3.	Building Bridges and Roads				
4.	Police				
5.	Firefighters				
6.	Garbage Collection				
7.	Libraries				
8.	Public Schools				
9.	Colleges and Universities				
10.	Upkeep of Parks				
11.	Welfare Programs				
12.	Provide Insurance Programs				
13.	License for Professionals (doctors, lawyers, auto mech., etc.)				
14.	Conduct Census				
15.	Collect and Publish Statistics (unemployment, cost of living, etc.)				
16.	Diplomatic Services				
17.	Loan Money				
18.	Zoning				
19.	Conduct Elections				

Government Services in my community

Activity 2.

After discussing the services provided by your local government, think about ones that should be changed or added (or perhaps deleted) to better serve the citizens in the community. Working in groups, each group should take one service and answer the following questions:

1. What service should be changed, added or deleted?
2. Who would be affected by this service, and in what way?
3. How would this affect the community as a whole?
4. What would be possible criticism of your suggested change?
5. List the benefits that would come from your suggested change.
6. What would have to happen to make the change come about?
7. Write a justification for the change, including all the facts and information you are able to find. You might want to interview local officials as well as other citizens, and read related documents, such as minutes from meetings.

When the groups have finished the research, a class discussion should follow. Each group, in turn, can present the arguments for change, while the other class members ask questions and discuss the weaknesses and strengths of the presentation. Each group can then decide if the recommended change should be presented to the appropriate official or board. Students should carry this project as far as their interest goes.

A Focus on Local Public Problems

The local newspaper is probably your best source of information on current local problems. For one week, collect news clippings that deal with local public problems. At the end of the week, decide which is the most vital problem in each of the following areas. Write a summary of the problem in the space below the area description.

Local Government and Services: ______________________________

____

____

The Local Economy: ______________________________________

____

____

____

Human Relations: ____

____

____

____

School: ____

____

____

____

Another Area of Your Choice: ______________________________

____

____

____

Attach all your clippings to this sheet and turn it in.

An Invitation to a County Commissioner

Invite one of your county commissioners to meet your class and discuss his role in local government.

Who are your county commissioners?

How are county commissioners chosen?

How long do they serve?

What salary does a county commissioner receive?

Summarize the duties and responsibilities of your county commissioners.

Which of the above duties and responsibilities directly affect you personally? How?

What projects has this commissioner sponsored? Which of these have proven of great value to local citizens?

What pressing local needs does this commissioner see which the commissioners as a group plan to deal with in the near future?

What predictions does this commissioner have for the county in terms of needs and services which will directly affect today's youth?

Attending a Council Meeting

Council meetings are open to the public. Attend a meeting of your town or city council to gather the information needed to complete this page.

Where does your local council meet?

When are the meetings held?

Counting yourself, how many local citizens attended the meeting? (Don't include council members and other city officials.)

Which city officials (mayor, clerk, council, etc.) took part in the meeting? What did each do during the council meeting?

What part did local citizens take in the meeting?

What items of business were discussed at the meeting?

What decisions by the council directly affected you as a member of the community?

What are your impressions of the manner in which the council conducted its business?

ACTIVITY 5

Election Night Tally Sheet

State and Electoral College Votes	Candidate's Name
Alabama, 9	
Alaska, 3	
Arizona, 7	
Arkansas, 6	
California, 47	
Colorado, 8	
Connecticut, 8	
Delaware, 3	
D.C., 3	
Florida, 21	
Georgia, 12	
Hawaii, 4	
Idaho, 4	
Illinois, 24	
Indiana, 12	
Iowa, 8	
Kansas, 7	
Kentucky, 9	
Louisiana, 10	
Maine, 4	
Maryland, 10	
Massachusetts, 13	
Michigan, 20	
Minnesota, 10	
Mississippi, 7	
Missouri, 11	
Montana, 4	
Nebraska, 5	
Nevada, 4	
New Hampshire, 4	
New Jersey, 16	
New Mexico, 5	
New York, 36	
North Carolina, 13	
North Dakota, 3	
Ohio, 23	
Oklahoma, 8	
Oregon, 7	
Pennsylvania, 25	
Rhode Island, 4	
South Carolina, 8	
South Dakota, 3	
Tennessee, 11	
Texas, 29	
Utah, 5	
Vermont, 3	
Virginia, 12	

Election Night Tally Sheet	Candidate's Name
State and Electoral College Votes	
Washington, 10	
West Virginia, 6	
Wisconsin, 11	
Wyoming, 3	
Total Electoral Vote (270) needed to win	

Key States to watch on election night are the largest, because they carry the most electoral college votes: California, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. Illinois "is the key swing state" says Newsweek's National Correspondent, Tony Fuller; he predicts that it could go either Republican or Democratic in this election.

Other Newsweek predictions: The South will be the region where electoral battles will be hardest fought, and President Reagan will be weakest in the industrial Northeast, strongest in his home base, the West.

From 1984 Presidential Election Handbook, 1984. Used by permission of Newsweek.

Benj. Franklin
John Adams
Th: Jefferson

THE CAMPAIGN CACTUS PATCH

The campaign path to election day is a political minefield; our Founding Fathers wisely avoided it. Only in 1860 did presidential aspirants begin campaigning for themselves. And then, they did so at great risk.

Democratic contender Stephen A. Douglas flopped on the hustings and should have known better, given the experience of early encounters with his nimble opponent, Abe Lincoln. Lincoln's responses had been homespun and softly devastating. During one of their famous debates, Lincoln described Douglas's argument "as thin as the homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death."

Lincoln also had his problems in going public: not the least of which were his gangly, rumpled appearance and craggy features. His quick wit, though, turned this handicap into an advantage on more than one occasion. Labeled "two-faced"--as most politicians were--he quipped, "Now I ask you, if I had another face, would I be using this one?"

Homely or handsome, inexperienced or able, few candidates and presidents are spared the barbs of detractors. Grace Roosevelt Longworth claimed that Warren Harding was "Not a bad man. He was just a slob." John Quincy Adams called Andrew Jackson "A barbarian and savage who can scarcely spell his own name." And just a few years ago a veteran congressman summed up Jimmy Carter's qualifications by commenting that Carter "couldn't get the Pledge of Allegiance through Congress."

Perhaps quite literally, too, the bigger you are, the better the target. Two hundred and fifty pound Grover Cleveland was called "an obese nincompoop" by Republicans: "a small man except on the hay scales." William Howard Taft was the biggest of them all, weighing into the White House at 330 pounds. Still, in the "kind" words of a Supreme Court justice, Taft had a reputation for extreme politeness: "I heard that recently he rose in the streetcar and gave his seat to three women."

Franklin Roosevelt gained the nation's confidence in his first two terms largely through his famed fireside chats. The radio poured out reassurance interwoven with emotional appeals and careful imagery. With war in Europe coming closer to our shores, FDR embarked on a unprecedented mission: a third term. His opponent, Wendel Wilkie was a turncoat Republican, who a little more than a year earlier had been a registered Democrat. In a 1940 campaign stop in New York, FDR seized on Wilkie's vulnerable point with a memorable parable: "We all know the story of the unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch plaid."

Campaign strategies have evolved since FDR's days in different ways. Harry Truman "gave 'em hell" in 1948 and won. Barry Goldwater was positioned by his opponents in 1964 as someone who might blow us all to hell--and lost. Richard Nixon picked up his "tricky Dick" moniker with a vicious smear campaign that defeated "pink lady" Helen Gahagan Douglas in their 1950 Senate race. Nixon's clever campaign tactics would later explode in a criminal scandal which earned him a place in history as the only American president ever to be forced to resign from office.

The "Great Debates" of the 1960 campaign brought candidates, warts and all, into our living rooms, also, they ushered in an era of great gaffes. Nixon, jousting with Kennedy in front of a television audience, proposed the ultimate solution to our nation's agricultural problems when, meaning to cite "farm surpluses," he came out with "we must get rid of the farmer." In the 1976 Ford-Carter debates, Jerry Ford, described by Lyndon Johnson as someone who played football at Michigan without his helmet, revised history by stating that, "there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, and there never will be under a Ford administration." Jimmy Carter, in his nomination acceptance speech, called Hubert Humphrey "that great American Senator, Hubert Horatio Hornblower."

There could be a moral in all this for today's candidates: less is better. Perhaps taciturn Calvin Coolidge, albeit put down in history by Clarence Darrow as "the greatest man ever to come out of Plymouth Notch, Vermont," really had a winning way. Consider how tight-lipped Coolidge reportedly dispatched a wager when he was vice president. A dinner companion had implored, "You must talk to me Mr. Coolidge. I made a bet today that I could get more than two words out of you."

"You lose," quipped the vice president, in a one-two knockout punch.

Sources: A Funny Thing Happened On the Way to the White House, by David E. Johnson and Johnny R. Johnson, Beaufort Books, Inc. 1983: New York.

Presidential Wit from Washington to Johnson, edited by Bill Adler, Trident Press, 1960: New York.

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PRESIDENT TRIVIA GAME

The questions that follow (answers are on next page) are meant only for fun and interest. Students will enjoy adding to the list. Information for the questions can be found in the library. The teacher might want the students to earn the right to participate by bringing in a question. The questions can be written on cards; the student master of ceremonies reads the question from each card as he or she turns them over. Players call out the answers.

1. Who was the youngest person ever to be elected president?
2. Who was the oldest person ever to be elected president?
3. Who was the only president elected to more than two terms?
4. Who was the only president who had not been elected to either the presidency or vice-presidency?
5. Who was the only president unanimously elected?
6. Who was the president in office for the shortest time?
7. Who was the only president to resign from office?
8. Who was the president in office for the longest term?
9. Who was the only president who never married?
10. Who were the two pairs of presidents who were cousins?
11. What two presidents were grandfather and grandson?
12. What two presidents were father and son?
13. Who was the first president to win the Nobel Peace Prize?
14. Who was the first president to appoint a woman to head a cabinet?
15. Who was the tallest president?
16. Who was the shortest president?
17. Who was the only president to run unopposed?
18. Who was the only president to be impeached?
19. Who was the only president to serve two completely separate terms?
20. What president later became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.
21. Who are the two vice presidents who resigned?
22. Who was the president who was the heaviest?

ANSWER SHEET FOR PRESIDENT TRIVIA GAME

1. Kennedy
2. Reagan
3. F. D. Roosevelt
4. Ford
5. Washington
6. W. H. Harrison
7. Nixon
8. F. D. Roosevelt
9. Buchanan
10. T. Roosevelt & F. D. Roosevelt, Madison & Taylor
11. W. Harrison & B. Harrison
12. J. Adams
13. T. Roosevelt
14. F. D. Roosevelt
15. Lincoln
16. Madison
17. James Monroe
18. Andrew Johnson
19. Grover Cleveland
20. William Howard Taft
21. John C. Calhoun (1832) & Spiro Agnew (1973)
22. William Howard Taft (330 lbs.)

NAME ______________________________ DATE ____________________

CLASS ______________________________ TEACHER ____________________

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

From the list of terms given, select the right ones to place in the blanks in the sentences. Write the whole word in the blank. Then write the underlined letter at the left in the column indicated. The letters in the two columns, when properly lined up, will spell the first and last names of a famous Speaker of the House of Representatives. Write his name here:

____

List of terms: ten, lower, two, revenue, congress, population, Speaker, floor, bills, minority, majority, rules, session, chairman, caucus, state.

______ 1. Bills for raising ______________ must originate in the House.

______ 2. The presiding officer of the House is called the ____________, and he is a member of the majority political party.

______ 3. Each state is entitled to at least one vote in the House, even though its ______________ may be very small.

______ 4. If no presidential candidate gets a ______________ in the Electoral College, the House elects the President.

______ 5. The permanent (standing) committee work on ______________ related to certain topics, such as agriculture, armed services, etc.

______ 6. Each Representative is elected from a district within his state, rather than from the ______________ as a whole.

______ 7. The most powerful committee in the House is the ______________ committee.

______ 8. The majority and minority ______________ leaders direct their parties' legislative programs and guide them through the House.

______ 9. Committee ______________ are members of the majority party, but each committee also includes minority members in the same ratio as in the House as a whole.

______ 10. A census is taken every ______________ years to determine how the Representatives should be appointed.

GLOSSARY

Perspectives, 1984. Used by permission of the Close Up Foundation

abstention - the act of not voting.

accountability - the state of legislative and executive officials being responsible for their actions to the people who elected them.

adjudication - the process of determining what a law means in a specific case.

administration - used to refer to the tenure of a president of the United States or to the whole body of executive officials; e.g., the Nixon administration (1969-74).

adversary - opponent in an election or debate; also used to describe opponents in court.

affirmative action - policies by government, businesses, educational institutions and other organizations to provide educational and employment opportunities to minorities. Mandated by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and by Supreme Court decisions.

amendment - addition to, alteration of or deletion from a bill that can be made in committee or on the floor of a legislative body. (See constitutional amendment.)

appeal - formal request to a high court that it re-examine a verdict reached by a lower court.

appointment power - power of the president to appoint Supreme Court justices, Cabinet secretaries, agency directors, ambassadors and other high-ranking officials. Enumerated in the Constitution, Article II, Section 2.

apportionment - division into districts based on population for the purpose of electing representatives to the state legislature and to Congress. Reapportionment becomes necessary when there are population changes.

appropriation - grant of money by the Congress to executive agencies for the purpose of carrying out a specific authorized program.

Articles of Confederation - the framework that held the 13 colonies together from 1776 to 1789, at which time it was replaced by the Constitution. Among the problems with the Articles were the lack of federal power to raise revenues, the existence of separate currencies and poor interstate relations.

attorney general - member of the Cabinet, head of the Justice Department. Appointed by the president with Senate confirmation.

autonomy - right of self-government; usually exercised by electing representatives.

backlash - describes a strong negative reaction to some social change or public policy, generally motivated by fear, prejudice or anger.

balanced budget - a budget in which expenditures, or the amount of money that the government spends, is equal to revenues, or the amount taken in.

bicameral - a legislature with two chambers.

bill - a proposal to the legislature. If passed, a bill becomes a law. May be a private bill for the special benefit of an individual, or a public bill of general interest.

Bill of Rights - the first 10 amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These guarantee fundamental rights and privileges of all citizens against infringement by the government.

bipartisan - representative of, or having the support of, both Republicans and Democrats.

block grant - general funds allocated by the federal government to state and local governments to be spent as the localities see fit.

boycott - a united effort to stop buying products of a particular company, or severing relations with a particular nation as a means of protest.

bureau - an administrative division within a government agency.

bureaucracy - a formally established organization characterized by job specialization, hierarchy of authority and a system of rules. Usually denotes the civil service employees of the executive branch of government.

Cabinet - the 13 department secretaries. Members function as the president's advisory council and as the administrators of his policies. Developed by custom rather than constitutional requirement.

calendar - agenda of business pending before the House and the Senate. The first step for a bill to become law is to get onto the legislative calendar.

canvass - to seek votes, support or opinions; especially door-to-door.

categorical grant - federal funds provided to state and local governments for specific purposes.

caucus - the primary or mass convention of voters in townships or wards; used especially in western states. (See congressional caucus.)

censorship - examination of any printed matter, broadcast or dramatic spectacle, prior to publication or transmission, for the purpose of making deletions or revisions for the preservation of military secrets, public morality or the interests of religion.

checks and balances - a fundamental principle underlying the U.S. Constitution, that gives each of the three branches of government powers to overrule actions by another branch. For example, the president can veto a congressional action, but only congress can appropriate money for him to spend. In effect, neither the executive, legislative or judicial branch can wield absolute authority.

civil law - laws covering noncriminal offenses committed by private individuals, groups or organizations against other private parties or the government.

civil liberties - rights of individuals, particularly of minorities, to equality under the law. The civil rights movement has opposed inequality, segregation and repression because of race on the part of businesses, organizations and individuals, as well as by the government.

civil service - the body of career employees of the government, who attain their positions through the merit system. (See political appointees and spoils system.)

civilian control - principle established in the Constitution that the military will be subject to the authority of the elected government. Guaranteed by the power given to the president as commander-in-chief.

class action suit - lawsuit brought by one party in the name of others or "the public."

cloture - an attempt to limit debate in the Senate by setting a time when the vote will be taken.

coalition - alliance or union of individuals or groups for the purpose of promoting a common legislative policy or political objective.

coattails effect - occurs when candidates of a party are swept into office because of the popularity of the major candidate (generally, the president) of their party.

committee - a subgroup of Congress that studies and writes legislation in a specialized subject area, oversees federal agencies or controls the administration of Congress.

common law - law made by judges, rather than by legislatures. Based on earlier decisions (precedents) by the courts.

confederate system - a governmental system in which the regions or subdivisions are strong and the central system is weak. This system differs from a federal system in that the states command most of the power. However, they are similar in that the power is divided.

conference committee - formed when the House and Senate have passed differing versions of a bill. Composed of members of both chambers who seek to work out a compromise. Once a compromise is reached, the bill is returned to both chambers for another vote.

confirmation - power of the Senate to approve the appointment of Supreme Court justices, Cabinet secretaries and other high-ranking officials nominated by the president.

congressional caucus - a group of representatives or senators who have similar interests or affiliations; e.g., Democratic Caucus, Congressional Black Caucus, New England Caucus.

Congressional Record - official daily publication of all debates and proceedings of the Congress.

Connecticut Compromise - the agreement made at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 that addressed how members of the national Congress would be selected. This same system remains in effect today.

conservatism - political philosophy that advocates control over change by blending elements from the past with new ideas. Generally supports a lesser role for the federal government in American life.

constituency - those citizens who are represented by and elect a particular senator or representative; e.g., Senator Claiborne Pell's constituents are the people of Rhode Island.

constitution - document recording the fundamental principles that govern a nation, state or organization.

Constitution of the United States - the written document that established the framework of our government by setting forth the powers and duties of the federal branches and defining the relationship of the federal government to the state governments and of the people to the government.

constitutional - describes an action or practice authorized by the Constitution.

constitutional amendment - additions to, or changes of, the Constitution. Requires a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures to take effect.

convention (national) - a meeting every four years where each political party selects its presidential and vice presidential candidates, writes a platform and selects a national committee to take care of party business. Delegates are selected by party members in each state to represent them.

dark horse - a candidate for public office who has marginal support and little chance of winning an election.

de facto - condition existing in fact. Example: de facto segregation means actual separation of the races whether or not supported by the law.

de jure - condition existing by law. Example: de jure segregation means the separation of the races sanctioned by law.

defendant - person charged with a crime.

deficit spending - government practice of spending more than it takes in.

demagogue - politician who lacks scruples and attempts to gain popularity through flattery, false promises and appeals to mass prejudice and passions.

depression - sharp economic decline with high levels of unemployment, decreased business activity and widespread suffering. Last major depression in the United States was in 1929.

desegregation - process of eliminating segregation by race.

devolution - delegation of authority accumulated by the federal government back to state or local governments.

discrimination - unfair treatment and denial of rights and privileges guaranteed by law on the basis of sex, race, religion, ethnicity or other factors. (See civil rights.)

disenfranchised - refers to persons who either do not have the right to vote, or feel that their votes are insignificant and their interests not represented by the government.

district attorney - government official who represents the state in prosecuting criminal cases and bringing indictments.

double jeopardy - prosecuting a person twice for the same crime. Prohibited by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

dual federalism - a judicial doctrine that holds that under the 10th Amendment, the powers of the national and state governments are separate and distinct.

elections (national)

president - elected for four-year term, maximum of two terms.

House of Representatives - 435 members proportioned according to population, each elected for two-year terms, with no maximum number of terms.

Senate - 100 members, two per state, elected for six-year terms; no maximum number of terms. Every two years, one-third of the senators stand for re-election.

Electoral College - body of electors popularly chosen in the states and the District of Columbia who meet in their respective state houses in December and cast votes for the presidential candidates who received a plurality in their respective states. The body never meets as a collective unit; rather the votes are sent to the president of the Senate and counted in a joint session of Congress on January 6.

electronic media - television and radio. (See mass media.)

[illegible]ce - persons who exercise a major influence on political, economic and social decisions. Narrow and powerful groups who achieve their position through wealth, social status and/or intellectual superiority.

emergency powers - powers granted by Congress to the president for a limited time during a crisis.

executive agreement - an international agreement made by the president with other heads of state which, unlike a treaty, does not require ratification by the Senate.

Executive Office of the President - official name for the assistants and agencies under the direct control of the president. Established by the Reorganization Act of 1939. (See the diagram and chart in Chapter 1.)

executive order - rule or regulation issued by the president, or in his name by an executive branch official, that has the force of law without passing Congress.

executive privilege - limited right of members of the executive branch to refuse to give certain information (documents, testimony, etc.) to the Congress without the approval of the president. Not defined in the Constitution, it has nevertheless been invoked throughout our history. In recent years, there has been much controversy over its usage; e.g., Watergate, national security cases.

Fairness Doctrine - Federal Communications Commission (FCC) requirement that broadcasters present differing points of view on public issues, as well as equal time to political candidates to air their views.

favorite son - a candidate for the presidential nomination who has little or no support beyond the delegation from his home state.

Federal Election Commission - a six-member bipartisan body appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate to enforce the campaign financing laws as enumerated in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974.

Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, 1946 - requires lobbyists to register with the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate, and to state the names and addresses of the persons employing them and the amount of salary and expense allowances that they receive.

federalism - a system of government in which power is divided between a strong central government and subdivisions. In the United States, the division is between the federal government and the states.

felony - a crime for which the maximum penalty is imprisonment for more than one year. Felonies are usually the more serious crimes.

Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments - guarantee that the law will be administered fairly and will follow established procedures, rules and principles that protect the rights of the accused.

filibuster - parliamentary strategy used by a minority in opposition to a bill. Most common in the Senate where the rules of unlimited debate are utilized to delay a vote that would probably mean defeat to those in opposition to the bill.

fiscal policy - action by government to control the form, incidence or rate of taxation, or the amount of public appropriations, including decisions as to whether to incur a surplus or deficit.

fiscal year (FY) - calendar used for budgeting. For the federal government, FY 1983 began on October 1, 1982, and runs through September 30, 1983.

floor - refers to the actual chambers of the House and the Senate where business is conducted by the full membership.

floor manager - the member who manages the bill on the floor of the House or Senate through debate and toward passage, generally the chairman or a ranking member of the committee that reported the bill.

foreign policy - a nation's course of action toward the other nations of the world.

franking privilege - right of legislators to send mail to constituents without having to pay postage.

free trade - policy of allowing unrestricted trade between nations without excessive tariffs or duties. Contrasted with protectionism, a policy of protecting native industries against foreign competition.

Freedom of Information Act, 1966 - stipulates that federal agencies must not withhold information from the public except for reasons of overriding public interest or the protection of rights of individuals.

freedom of speech and press - a right guaranteed in American federal and state constitutions to speak or write freely on any subject, provided the speaker does not slander or libel another person or adversely affect some superior interest of the state.

gerrymander - drawing electoral district lines in a manner that intentionally gives one political party an advantage.

government corporation - public agency established to carry out tasks normally performed by private organizations or firms. Structured and organized simila to a private corporation, but subject to the authority of Congress. Examples: Amtrak, U.S. Postal Service, Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

grand jury - considers evidence presented by government prosecutors and decides whether or not an indictment should be issued. If so, a separate trial jury is selected to hear the case.

grass-roots - usually describes a movement or action directed at, or stemming from, the general public, rather than from the political leadership or powerful interest groups.

grass-roots lobbying - the indirect activities to influence government officials such as letter writing, telephone campaigns, press conferences and other media events.

gross national product (GNP) - annual dollar value of all goods produced and services sold in every sector of the economy.

habeas corpus - legal principle guaranteeing a speedy and public trial; prevents arbitrary imprisonment.

hearing - committee session held in order to obtain information and opinions on a proposed bill, resolution or issue. Witnesses include officials of the executive branch, interest groups, individuals and others with knowledge or concern for the particular subject being studied.

hopper - where proposed bills are placed for numbering and committee assignment. In the House, bills are deposited in a box attached to the speaker's roster. In the Senate, bills are handed to the legislative clerk, who has a desk on the Senate floor.

human rights - democratic freedoms such as the right to participate in government, the right to emigrate and the right to free choice of religion as guaranteed by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

impeachment - the process by which the House of Representatives submits a formal written accusation to the Senate for the purpose of removing the president, other executive branch officials or federal judges for the reasons of "high crime and misdemeanors."

impoundment - refusal by the president to spend funds duly authorized and appropriated by the Congress. This power was restricted by the 1974 Budget and Impoundment Act.

incumbent - person who is currently in office, contrasted with the "challenger."

independent agency - created by Congress to provide services and conduct programs not included in the Cabinet departments. Administrators are appointed by the president subject to Senate confirmation. Examples: ACTION, NASA, Environmental Protection Agency.

independent - candidate or voter who is not affiliated with a political party.

indictment - formal written accusation charging a person with a crime.

inflation - rising prices resulting in declining purchasing power.

injunction - court order preventing a person or group from taking a specified action.

inside lobbying - activities aimed at influencing decision makers in a direct manner; e.g., by talking to policy makers or testifying before a congressional committee.

integration - different racial and ethnic groups living and working together.

intelligence - information not generally known concerning the political, military, economic and social situation of foreign countries.

interest group - an organized group of people sharing attitudes and concerns on one or more issues that works to influence government policy.

intergovernmental relations - interaction between the federal, state and local levels of government.

interstate - commerce, travel or other activity that involves more than one state. Federal government has jurisdiction over most interstate matters.

intrastate - commerce, travel or other activity within a state. Federal government does not have jurisdiction over most intrastate matters.

investigate reporting - a method used in the field of journalism in which a story line is actively researched by the reporter instead of writing stories as events occur.

Joint Chiefs of Staff - the panel of the country's top military leaders who jointly plan overall defense strategy and work with the secretary of defense, the president and his national security advisers to define our national security policy. The panel consists of the heads of the Army, Marines, Navy and Air Force and a general or admiral selected by the president to chair the panel.

judicial opinions - written decision of a court in which its ruling is explained. Precedents, reasons, definitions and interpretations are discussed. Different kinds of Supreme Court opinions are:

- majority opinion - ruling of the majority.
- concurring opinion - written by a justice who voted with the majority, but for different reasons.
- dissenting opinion - opinion of the justice(s) who disagrees with the majority.

judicial restraint - refers to judges who rule on the cases before them but shy away from broad policy implications. Contrasts with judicial activism.

judicial review - authority of the courts to examine legislative or executive acts to determine whether or not they are prohibited by the Constitution.

jurisdiction - limits within which the government may exercise its powers. Also refers to the limits of the powers of particular agencies, branches or levels of government.

lame duck - incumbent who has decided not to run for re-election, or who has been defeated or is prevented by law from being re-elected, and is serving out the final days in office.

liberalism - political philosophy that advocates change through the active participation of the federal government in American life.

lobbying - process whereby an individual or a group of individuals attempts to influence the decision of a member of Congress or any other decision maker.

lobbying reform legislation - proposed bill designed to give people a better idea of what factors influence decisions in the political arena and to make government officials and lobbyists more accountable.

lobbyist - a person who attempts to influence government officials, representing a public or private cause or organization.

markup - the final work of the committee in writing a completed or new bill after hearings have been completed.

mass media - all methods of communication designed to reach the general public; e.g., newspapers, periodicals, radio, television, films, etc.

merit system - system in which selection, retention and promotion of government employees is based upon ability rather than political connections or party affiliation.

misdemeanor - criminal offense less serious than a felony. Punishable by fine and/or up to one year in jail.

moderate (centrist) - advocate of policies which are a mixture of, or somewhat between, liberalism and conservatism.

monarchy - government by a hereditary ruler, such as a queen or king.

monetary policy - government economic policy relating to the availability of credit and size of the money supply.

national interest - social, economic, strategic and ideological considerations that serve as the inspiration and basis for a nation's domestic and foreign policy.

national security - safety from attack or subversion that comes from military, economic and political struggle.

nonpartisan - favoring no political party.

Office of Management and Budget (OMB) - important agency within the Executive Office of the President. Powers and responsibilities include the review of proposed bills from departments, recommendations to the president on whether to veto or sign a bill, and preparation of the annual budget.

ombudsman - a public official whose job it is to act on complaints or problems from citizens.

override - repassage of a vetoed bill by a two-thirds majority in both chambers of Congress, so that it becomes law without the president's signature.

oversight - power and responsibility of Congress to maintain a close watch over the activities of the executive branch.

parliamentary procedural - formal rules of procedure that govern and regulate the proceedings of a legislature.

partisan - an idea, issue or project primarily supported by or favoring one political party.

party - group of people who work and organize together to win elections, to run governments and to represent a common set of beliefs, policies and values.

patronage - power of the president and other high-ranking officials to grant certain political favors in return for political support. Examples: power to nominate ambassadors, judges and executive branch officials; power to locate lucrative programs and construction projects in selected areas.

per capita - in economics, means "average per person."

petition - request to a public official seeking to correct a wrong or to influence public policy. Also, a method of placing a candidate's name on the ballot by getting a specified number of signatures.

platform - a comprehensive policy statement issued by a political party or a candidate during a campaign.

plurality - the highest number of votes, but not a majority (which is more than half).

political action committee (PAC) - special interest group that contributes money to political candidates who conform to the group's ideology or specific interests.

political appointee - high-ranking official of the executive branch who is appointed by the president. Secretaries, undersecretaries, regulatory commissioners and officers of government corporations are political appointees.

political science - one of the social sciences, dealing with the theory and practice of politics, government, public policy and public administration.

politics - policies, affairs or goals of a government or the parties within it. Also, the methods or tactics of campaigning and governing.

poll - series of interviews on a particular subject designed to measure public opinion.

pork barrel - a bill that gives funds or projects to the district of a particular legislator.

precedent - decision in a case that forms the basis for a future decision in a similar case. Much of our law and court decisions are based on precedents.

presidential press conference - formal session during which the president answers questions from reporters. Held as often as the president wishes.

press conference - a formal or informal interview given by a public figure to reporters by appointment; usually for the exchange of information where the reporters ask questions.

press secretary - chief spokesperson for the president, or other officials. The press secretary usually manages the flow of information from the government to the public.

pressure group - an organized interest group in which members share common views and objectives. Its members actively carry on programs to influence government officials and policies.

price supports - program through which the federal government aids farmers in times of low or unstable prices by buying crops at higher than free-market prices.

primary election - preliminary election for the nomination of candidates for office, for the choice of party commitment or for delegates to a party convention.

print media - informative materials that are read; e.g., newspapers, magazines, books, etc.

probable cause - justification for a search of a person or property by police when facts and circumstances would lead a reasonable person to conclude that a crime has been committed.

progressive tax - tax based on ability to pay. Those people with low incomes pay a smaller percentage of income, while a larger percentage of high income is taxed. Example: the federal income tax.

propaganda - organized efforts to influence the thoughts, emotions, opinions and actions of people by means of words, pictures, music, symbols, etc.

public interest - describes groups or programs that do not benefit any specific group, but instead are designed to benefit society as a whole.

public works - projects such as highway construction, rural electrification and school and hospital construction paid for by government, especially to create jobs in times of high unemployment.

quota - number of persons of a particular "category; e.g., race, religion, ethnic group, religion, sex, who must be included, hired or admitted.

ratification - refers to the passage of a treaty. Treaties differ from other bills in that they can be approved only by the Senate and require a two-third majority to pass.

reapportionment - a redrawing of political boundaries, such as those between congressional districts, based on the census undertaken at the beginning of each decade.

recall - a procedure by which a public official may be removed from office by vote of the people.

recession - significant decline in business activity, although not as serious as a depression.

red tape - derived from the color of the cotton tape in which official letters and documents were tied together. Means the following of long, bothersome procedures.

redress of grievances - right to petition the government in protest and support of your interests.

reform - changes of a significant but limited nature in the policies and/or procedures of government, the law or other societal institutions and practices.

registration - official enrollment of persons for the administration of election, compulsory military service, rationing, lobbying or other laws.

regressive tax - tax in which all people pay the same percentage, regardless of their income. Examples: sales tax and property tax.

regulatory commission - a body created by Congress to regulate a specific area of the economy and society in the public interest. Has power similar to the legislature, to issue rules that have the force of law. Also has power similar to the legislature, to issue rules that have the force of law. Also has powers similar to the courts, to decide conflicts and interpret laws. Members (commissioners) are appointed by the president subject to Senate confirmation; they must be drawn from both the Republican and Democratic parties.

revenue sharing - refers to system set forth in the General Revenue Sharing Act of 1972 in which the federal government regularly turns over portions of its tax yield to local governments based upon a fixed formula.

revenues - income; money taken in by government from taxes and other sources.

revolution - changes of a widespread nature in the political, social and/or economic systems. Contrast with reform.

"revolving doors" - the back and forth movement of high-ranking officials between the federal government and the private sector. Reference is usually movement from a regulatory agency to the private group that is regulated.

rider - proposal that would be unlikely to be enacted by itself, but that is attached to bill that has a good chance of passing. Differs from an amendment in that it need not be related to the subject of the bill.

Rules Committee - exists only in the House. Decides on what procedure a bill will follow. For example, whether or not amendments may be added, how much debate will be allowed. A favorable rule can make passage more likely.

segregation - practice of requiring separate facilities for use by people of different races.

seniority - consecutive years of service. Often used in Congress to determine leadership assignments and allocate office space.

separation of powers - fundamental constitutional principle that each branch of government should have separate powers and should not usurp the powers of the others. Like checks and balances, was intended to prevent concentration of too much power in any one branch or individual.

special interest - describes groups that lobby the legislative and executive branches for projects, laws or regulations that benefit their members. Often associated with industrial, political, labor, environmental and religious groups.

spoils system - awarding of government jobs to political supporters and friends, without consideration of merit.

sponsor - member who officially signs his or her name to a bill as its author and sponsors its introduction into the chamber.

standing committee - regular committee that is responsible for a specific subject area. Presently there are 22 House and 15 Senate standing committees.

State of the Union Address - speech delivered annually by the president to a joint session (both houses) of Congress in which he discusses the "state of the union" and outlines his legislative program for the coming year.

status quo - existing state of affairs.

statute - law passed by a legislature.

subpoena - an order for a person to appear or surrender evidence (records, tapes, documents, memos, etc.) before a court or official body.

sunshine laws - laws requiring government agencies and legislative committees to open their sessions to the public unless there are overriding reasons, such as national security.

taxes - money paid by citizens, businesses and organizations to support the operations of government and the programs run by government at all levels. Taxes are compulsory but must be established by law.

unemployment - economic statistics reflecting the percentage of the work force that cannot find work.

unicameral - a legislature containing only one chamber.

unitary system - a system of government in which the central government is supreme and all other divisions derive their power from the central government; e.g., Great Britain.

veto - rejection by the president of a bill passed by Congress.

Virginia Plan - a set of 15 resolutions presented by Edmond Randolph of Virginia at the Constitutional Convention to amend the Articles of Confederation. They called for two separate houses in the legislative branch, only one of which would have been elected by the general population.

War Powers Act - legislation passed by Congress in 1973 to limit the power of the president to commit American troops abroad without congressional approval.

welfare - contributions by government to the economic security of its citizens. Welfare programs are generally for those who are unable to help themselves; e.g., the aged, the temporarily unemployed, the disabled and the handicapped.

RESOURCES

Organizations

ACORN - "Grassroots citizens action in the community. Low and moderate income people organizing for political and economic power."

Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Public Affairs Department, 1616 H St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. Business related organization.

Committee on Political Education of AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. Political action arm. Registration and get-out-the-vote information.

Common Cause, 2030 M St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, Attention: Issue Mail. Bulk orders of any issue 25¢/10-100 copies, 20¢/over 100. A free teacher's guide provided on request.

Democratic National Committee, 1625 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Grassroots Groups - The Consumer Federation of America has updated its directory of grassroots consumer groups. A 42-page 1983 Directory of State and Local Consumer Organizations 5.00 list nearly 400 groups across the country. Analysis of the information in directory 2.00 A Statistical Report on Grassroots Consumer Movement 1983.

Joint Center for Political Studies, Publications Department, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004. Information on black political participation.

League of Women Voters Education Fund (LWVEF), 1730 M St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. A research and education organization that sponsors Presidential Debates.

Michigan Citizens Lobby is a consumer organization, non-partisan, non-profit. The current focus is on the problem of rising utility rates. There are offices in Lansing, Pleasant Ridge, Ann Arbor, Kalamazoo, and Saginaw.

NAACP, 186 Remsen St., Brooklyn Heights, NY 11201. Major organization concerned with the rights of black citizens.

National Council of La Raza, 1725 Eye St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Voter programs targeted to Hispanic groups.

National Urban League, Citizen Education Department, 55 East 52nd St., New York, NY 10022. Focus on problems of minority citizens in cities.

Perspectives is a registered trademark of the Close Up Foundation, 1235 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, VA 22202. Phone (703) 892-5400.

Pirgim - Public Interest Research Group in Michigan is a not-for-profit, non-partisan advocacy organization for Michigan college and university students. The main areas of concern are consumer protection, energy, environment and housing. The state office is in Lansing with branches in Royal Oak, Ann Arbor and East Lansing.

Women's Vote Project of the Women's Roundtable, c/o National Women's Education Fund, 1410 Q St., NW, Washington, DC 20009. Information on registration projects conducted by many national women's organizations.

Republican National Committee, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

Southwest Voter Education Project, 201 N. St. Mary's St., San Antonio, TX 78205. Information on voter education and voter registration programs for Hispanic citizens.

Books

Building Rationales for Citizenship Education (Bulletin 52) edited by James P. Shaver. $4.95 from National Council for the Social Studies, 3615 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20016. Intended to involve teacher educators, teachers, and supervisors in re-examining curriculum assumptions and teaching decisions and their implications for citizenship education.

Campaign Finance Reporting booklet. Michigan Department of State, Elections Division, P. O. Box 20126, Lansing, MI 48901. The booklet on instructions shows how detailed and careful accounting must be kept for all campaign money received.

Congress Today, Knowledge Unlimited Newscurrents, P. O. Box 52, Madison, WI 53701.

Democratic State Central Committee, 606 Townsend, Lansing, MI 48933. Phone (517) 371-5410.

The Detroit Free Press has Election '84 programs for teachers and students. Contact the Educational Services Department, 321 W. Lafayette, Detroit, MI 48231. Contact Sue Whitney.

Easy Does It. A guide to registration and absentee voting laws in all 50 states and DC in handy, poster form. 1984. LWVEF #522.

Editorial Cartoons: Windows on a Changing World. Newscurrents, Knowledge Unlimited, P. O. Box 52, Madison, WI 53701. Two parts (filmstrips) $13.00.

The Election of a President. Newscurrents. Knowledge Unlimited, P. O. Box 52, Madison, WI 53701. $7.00.

Forecasting Presidential Elections. Steven J. Rosenstone, Yale University Press, 1983.

Foreign Policy and Democratic Dilemmas, John Spanier. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1982.

From Tippecanoe to Prime Time: A History of Presidential Campaigning (filmstrip with guide). Newscurrents, Knowledge Unlimited, P. O. Box 52, Madison, WI 53701. $7.00.

Getting Out The Vote. Running registration and voting drives. Handbook for conducting registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. #424: LWVEF, 1730 M St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

The Growth of Communism. From Anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. $20.00.

Handbook of Basic Citizenship Competencies. Richard Remy. $4.75. From Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 225 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314. Seven basic competencies are discussed: acquiring and using information, assessing involvement making decisions, making judgments communicating, cooperating, and promoting interest.

How To Do It, series 3, no. 1 (How to Teach the 1984 Elections). National Council for the Social Studies, 3501 Newark St., NW, Washington, DC 20016. $2.00/1-9 copies, $1.60/10-99 copies.

Improving Citizenship Education. Fulton County Board of Education, 786 Cleveland Ave., SW, Atlanta, GA 30315.

Laws Relating to Elections. Michigan Secretary of State, Lansing, MI. 1978. Contains election laws of the state; revised periodically.

League of Women Voters:
    Your Vote Makes A Difference (pamphlet)
    Where Are All Those Non Voters (pamphlet)
    Post-Election Wrap-Up and a Look Beyond (pamphlet)
    Green Grass Roots: A Political Notebook for People Who Want to Participate. Lansing, MI 1980

League of Women Voters of Michigan, 202 Mill Street, Lansing, MI 48933
    Citizen's Handbook (basic election laws), Single copy 30¢, includes postage, 10/$1.00 plus postage.
    Current List of Elected State Officials, 35¢, includes postage.
    From Precinct to President, Single copy, 20¢, includes postage, 25/$1.00 plus postage.
    Legislative Action Handbook, $2.00, includes postage.
    The State We're In, A Citizens Guide to Michigan State Government $2.85, includes postage.

League of Women Voters of the United States, 1730 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
    Choosing the President, 1976, 95 pp., #606, 50¢.
    Election Check-Up: Monitoring Registration and Voting, 1973, 36 pp., #270, 35¢.
    Elections: Issues Not Images, 1976, 8 pp., #624, 50¢.
    Elections: Turning People On, 1974, 12 pp., #485, 35¢.
    Removing Administrative Obstacles to Voting, 1972, 12 pp., #151, 15¢.
    Tell It To Washington, 28 pp., #349, 35¢.

Mass Media and American Politics, Doris Graeher. Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980.

Michigan Department of State, Elections Division, Mutual Building, 208 N. Capitol Avenue, Lansing, MI 48918. Phone (517) 373-2540.
- *Campaign Finance Reporting, Dates to Remember* (also available from county clerk)
- *Election Challengers, Their Rights and Duties*
- *Petition Signature Requirements*
- *Petitions: Preparing, Circulating, Filing*

Michigan Manual, compiled and published by Department of Management and Budget, 1983-84.

Michigan Senate HotLine: 1-800-292-5893 (additional resources)

Moscow Life: Parts I & II (filmstrip with guide), Newscurrents, Knowledge Unlimited, P. O. Box 52, Madison, WI 53701. $13.00.

Our American Government, 1981 Edition, U.S. Government Printing Office.

Polls and Politics. Introduces students to political polls, their history, and politics and the criteria needed to judge them. Students will learn about the use of computers in polling techniques, and learn how to analyze survey data. Apple 48K Diskette.

Polls, Politics and Population, John Clemens. Gower Pub. Co., 1983, Great Britain.

Polls, Their Use and Misuse in Politics, Charles W. Roll, Jr., Albert H. Cantril, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1972.

Practical Politics, Ohio Department of State, Ohio Department of Education, 14th Floor, State Office Tower, Columbus, OH 43216.

Republican State Central Committee (additional resources), 221 N. Walnut, Lansing, MI 48933. Phone (517) 487-5413.

The Road to the White House. The politics of presidential elections. Wayne, 1983, St. Martin's Press, New York, NY.

Scholastic Update (magazine). January 6, 1984, Vol. 116, No. 9, Scholastic, Inc., 730 Broadway, New York, NY 10003, Single Issue $1.25.

The Sophisticated Poll Watcher's Guide, George Gallup. 1972, Princeton Opinion Press.

Teaching About Doublespeak, Daniel Dieterich, ed. National Council of Teachers of English, 1976, 1111 Kenyon Road, Urbana, IL 61801.

We're Being More Than Entertained, Robert Cirino. 1977. Lighthouse Press, P. O. Box 8507, Honolulu, HI 96815 (for media influence).

Name of High School ____

Name of District ____

RESOURCE GUIDE
EVALUATION FORM
November, 1984

1. Please indicate your present position.

_____ Board Member
_____ Building Administrator
_____ Central Office Administrator
_____ Interested Citizen
_____ Student
_____ Superintendent
_____ Teacher
_____ Other school employee __________ (specify)
_____ Other ____________________ (specify)

2. Please rate your understanding of how to use the Resource Guide.

_____ Excellent
_____ Good
_____ Fair
_____ Poor

3. How well did the Resource Guide work in your (circle one) school/district?

_____ Excellent
_____ Good
_____ Fair
_____ Poor

4. Overall, how valuable was the Resource Guide?

_____ Very Valuable
_____ Valuable
_____ Slightly Valuable
_____ Not Valuable

5. What topics or parts of the Resource Guide were most valuable?

____

____

____

6. What topics or parts of the Resource Guide were least valuable?

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7. What topics or parts of the Resource Guide were weak or missing altogether?

8. In addition to the above, what suggestions can you make to improve the use of the Resource Guide?

9. Please provide any additional comments regarding the Resource Guide.

Please return the completed survey to:

Janice I. Blanck, Research Consultant
Genesee Intermediate School District
2413 West Maple Avenue
Flint, Michigan 48507

Thank you for completing this survey.

U. S. GOVERNMENT CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Across

1. Planned media campaign to change people's attitudes and beliefs on some issues.
8. A major function of political parties. (2 words)
10. To prevent too much governmental power from being placed in the same hands, a system called "______ of powers" was developed.
11. The Secretary of State, Attorney General and Secretary of the Treasury are part of the President's ___________.
14. One symbol which rallies support for the U.S. and symbolizes it to the people is "Uncle ______."
15. A President's ______, or the ability to get things done, depends in part on a good relationship with Congress and the American people.
18. Having to give one's life for the protection of one's county illustrates the conflict between ______ and the general welfare.
20. The President is chief of this branch of government. (abbrev.)
21. Before a bill is voted on by the full House or Senate, there is often floor ______ by members for and against the bill.
25. The statement, "Republicans make the best Presidents," is a statement of ___________.
26. Remembering only a certain part of a total picture, statement or article is called _________ retention.
30. The number of U.S. Senators from Mich.
31. One of the basic principles of a democracy is majority rule but with protections for minority _________.
34. A statement of policy positions of a political party.
36. A term used to describe a person who supports military spending and is ready to use our military forces abroad to back up our foreign policy.
37. What the President can do to prevent a bill from becoming a law.
38. A service provided by the federal government.
39. A direct and quick way to let your Congressman know how you feel about an issue is through a _______.
40. The ability of the courts to declare acts of the other two branches unconstitutional is one example of a check to _____ power.
41. No longer a requirement to vote.
42. This type of ballot is used for voting when you won't be in town on election day.

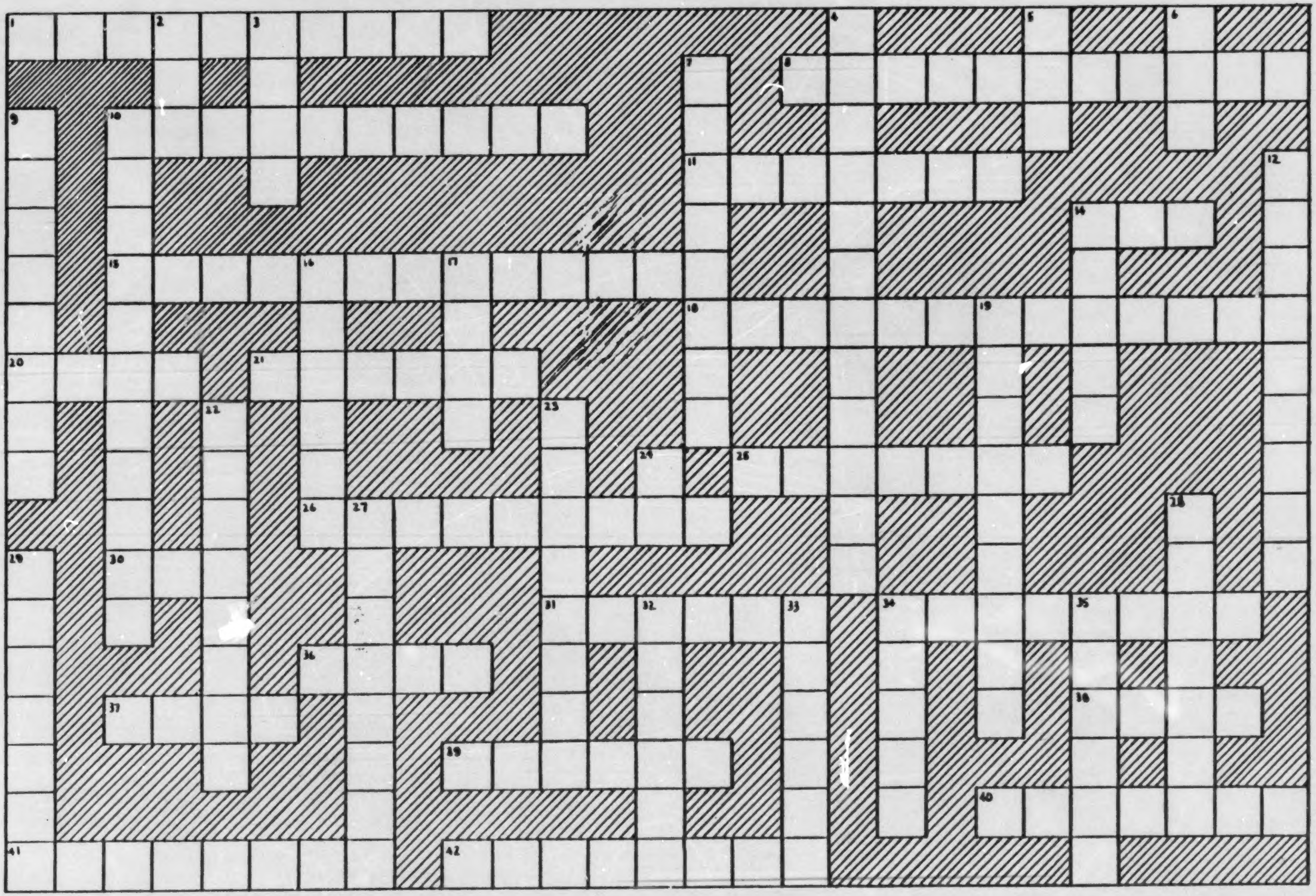
(adapted from Improving Citizenship Education. Fulton County School System
Atlanta, Georgia 1981

U. S. GOVERNMENT CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Down

2. A chart drawn in the shape of a circle and divided up into parts is known as a ________ chart.
3. One of the territorial possessions of the U.S.
4. The righit to hear and decide a case, or power over any matter.
5. Government scandals and incidents like Watergate illustrate that no government official should be above the _____.
6. Number of years in the term of a U.S. Senator.
7. In appellate cases, most judges base their opinions on a previous court ___________.
9. Legislative body for the U.S.
10. According to the principle of "popular ________," the people are the source of governmental authority.
12. Before going to the full House or Senate for debate and voting, a bill must first be studied by a _________.
14. The area that a U.S. Senator represents.
16. The President, Congress and Courts are subject to a variety of constitutional _____, such as the veto, approving appointments and declaring laws unconstitutional.
17. Before a bill can be sent to the President, both House and Senate must _____ on and pass the identical bill.
19. The type of government where the people play a significant role in selecting and controlling the government.
22. The ______ Leader is potentially the influential and powerful member of the Senate.
23. ________ groups try to influence decisions of public officials and public opinion.
24. A source of news for many Americans. (abbrev.)
27. When all people are treated the same.
28. The President has primary control of ______ policy, often meeting with heads of state from other countries.
29. A ______ system of government is one with a central government and state governments, with each level of government given certain powers.
32. To rule a nation.
33. This branch of Congress is composed of members who represent an entire state, rather than districts within the state.
34. Political organization which tries to win elections.
35. One of the greatest influences on a child's political beliefs.

U. S. GOVERNMENT CROSSWORD PUZZLE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KEY

U. S. GOVERNMENT CROSSWORD PUZZLE

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9 C		10 S	E	P	A	R	A	T	I	O	N			E			R				W			X		
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R		R				H			O					18 I	N	D	I	V	I	19 D	U	A	L	I	S	M
20 E	X	E	C		21 D	E	B	A	T	E				O			C			E		T				I
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OVERVIEW
OF
LOBBY REGISTRATION ACT
P.A. 472 OF 1978

Lobby Registration
P.O. Box 20126
Lansing, Michigan 48901
(517) 373-7655

October, 1983

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INTRODUCTION

The following is a general overview of the Lobby Registration Act (1978 PA 472, MCL 4.411 to 4.431). For specific legal guidance, always refer to the statute and rules, as this act contains criminal penalties for violations.

Act 472 has two major purposes:

(1) to regulate lobbyists, lobbyist agents and lobbying activities; and

(2) to require registration of and reports from lobbyists and lobbyist agents.

This overview, in general terms, will describe who is and is not covered by the Act and what reports are required from those covered by the Act.

WHAT IS LOBBYING?

In general, a person is lobbying when that person is communicating directly with a public official for the purpose of influencing either legislative action or administrative action, or both. Lobbying does not include the providing of technical information by a recognized expert (other than a lobbyist agent or an employee of a lobbyist agent) before an officially convened legislative committee or executive department hearing panel. Technical information means empirically verifiable data.

Communicating Directly

You are communicating directly if you engage in actual verbal conversation either in person or by electronic means (e.g., telephone) with a public official or if you address written communications (e.g., letter, telegram) to a public official. Again, the purpose of the direct communication must be to influence legislative or administrative action in order for it to be lobbying.

Public Official

A public official only includes an official in the executive branch of state government or an official in the legislative branch of state government.

An official in the executive branch is defined as:

* the governor.
* the lieutenant governor.
* the secretary of state.
* the attorney general.
* a member of any state board or commission. (The board or commission must be of statewide jurisdiction, have policymaking authority, and be established by state statute or the state constitution.)
* an individual in the executive branch who is not under civil service (unclassified) in a policymaking, administrative, or non-clerical capacity. The persons who fit this description appear by name or position on a list published by the Department.
* An individual who is appointed or employed by a state board or commission noted above who serves at the pleasure of the state board or commission which appointed the individual or whose term of office is set by statute, charter, ordinance, or the Michigan Constitution.

NOTE: Any individual who is elected, appointed, or nominated to any of the above positions is a public official whether or not the individual has yet taken the position.

An official in the legislative branch is limited to:

* a member of the legislature.
* a member of an official body established by and responsible to the legislature (or either house). An official body would include a legislative committee, the Consumers Council, the Legislative Service Bureau, etc.
* an employee of the legislature or official body noted above in a non-clerical or policymaking capacity. The individuals who fit this description appear by name or by position on a list published by the Department.

Influencing

Influencing is the use of any means to:

* promote;
* support;
* affect;
* modify;
* oppose; or
* delay legislative or administrative action.

This includes providing or using information, statistics, studies, or analysis in order to cause a desired action to occur.

Legislative Action

Legislative action is action on any matter that is pending or proposed in a legislative committee or is pending or proposed in either house of the legislature.

Legislative action is an "official action" taken by the public official who is being lobbied. This includes:

* introduction of,
* sponsorship of,
* support of,
* opposition to,
* consideration of,
* debate on,
* vote on,
* passage of,
* defeat of,
* approval of,
* veto of, or
* delay on

any bill, resolution, amendment, nomination, appointment, or report proposed to or pending in the legislature.

Therefore, if a person is seeking to have the public official perform what is termed an "official action," that person is lobbying. However, if the person is subpoenaed to appear before the legislature or an agency of the legislature, that person's presentation is not within the definition of legislative action and is therefore not lobbying. This is not to be confused with the other exemption for providing technical information, explained under "What is Lobbying?", page 2.

Administrative Action

Within the executive branch or an executive agency, an administrative action is any of the following by a public official:

* proposal;
* drafting;
* development;
* consideration;
* amendment;
* enactment; or
* defeat of a nonministerial action or rule.

Again, if a person is seeking any of these actions from the public official, that person is lobbying.

Administrative action does not include a quasi-judicial determination as authorized by law. This exclusion removes from the Lobby Act any contested matter before administrative officers (such as referees, hearing officers, and commissioners).

In conclusion, you are lobbying if you:

(1) COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY
(2) with a PUBLIC OFFICIAL
(3) for the purpose of INFLUENCING
(4) a LEGISLATIVE ACTION OR ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION.

WHO IS COVERED BY THE ACT?

Once your activity is determined to be lobbying, you must decide if you are a lobbyist or lobbyist agent as defined by the Act. If you are, you will be required to register and file periodic reports.

Any "person" can be either a lobbyist or lobbyist agent, depending on the particular situation. Person includes any of the following:

* individual
* business
* proprietorship
* firm
* partnership
* joint venture
* syndicate
* business trust
* labor organization
* company
* corporation
* association
* committee
* state agency
* political subdivision of the state
* any other organization or group of persons acting jointly.

At such time as a person who lobbies meets the expenditure or reimbursement threshold requirements which will be discussed later in this overview, that person becomes either a lobbyist or lobbyist agent and is subject to the act's reporting requirements.

However, certain persons who lobby are exempt from the Lobby Act. See page 7 for a discussion of those who are not covered by the Act's provisions.

WHAT IS A LOBBYIST AGENT?

The term "Lobbyist Agent" is a new term defined in the Act.

You may be a lobbyist agent if you are a person who receives compensation and/or reimbursement of actual expenses which total more than $250.00 in any 12-month period for lobbying. Compensation is anything of monetary value you receive or will receive from a person for whom you lobby. It can be in the form of a fee, salary, forbearance, forgiveness, or other types of recompense. Compensation received for activities other than lobbying does not count toward the $250.00 figure for determining whether or not you meet the threshold test.

WHAT IS A LOBBYIST?

A person is a lobbyist:

(1) if the person makes expenditures for lobbying that are more than $1,000.00 in value in any 12-month period; or

(2) when lobbying a single public official, if the person makes expenditures for lobbying that are more than $250.00 in value in any 12-month period.

If the state, or any political subdivision, contracts for a lobbyist agent, it becomes a lobbyist regardless of the dollar amount.

In arriving at the dollar figures, certain payments or expenses do not have to be counted. Membership fees are one example. Another is the cost of travel to get to and return from meetings with public officials for the purpose of lobbying. The cost of travel includes all transportation costs, food, and lodging while going to, while at, and while returning from a meeting with a public official. However, personal expenditures for food, travel, or beverage by groups of 25 or more people do have to be counted if those costs are reimbursed by a lobbyist or lobbyist agent.

WHO IS NOT COVERED BY THE ACT?

There are certain persons who are automatically excluded from the definition of a lobbyist or lobbyist agent. These include a publisher, owner, or working member of the press, while they are disseminating news or editorial comment to the general public in the ordinary course of business.

Within this exemption is a trade association that obtains information from public officials in order to provide that information to its members.

Also exempted are churches and religious institutions.

If a membership association or organization is already a lobbyist, the members of that association or organization do not become lobbyists or lobbyist agents by virtue of their membership. However, each member may in fact become a lobbyist by virtue of other financial activity (see the explanation of how a person becomes a lobbyist), but that is distinct from the membership in the association or organization. The payment of dues or membership fees to a membership organization or association is not an expenditure for lobbying, even though the membership association or organization expends the monies for lobbying and itself is a lobbyist.

Excluded also are all elected or appointed public officials of the state or local government. However, this exclusion does not apply to appointed members of state level boards and commissions. It only applies to the others when the public officials are acting within the course or scope of their office for no compensation other than that provided by law for that office.

It is important to note that this exclusion is narrow. It applies only to elected state and local public officials, and to those who are appointed and who either serve at the pleasure of the person who appointed them or whose term of office is set by a statute, a charter, an ordinance, or the Michigan Constitution. Therefore, unless the person meets the conditions noted above, the following types of government employees can become either lobbyists or lobbyist agents if the dollar figures are met:

* public or private college employees
* community college employees
* junior college employees
* university employees
* township employees
* village employees
* city employees
* county employees
* school board employees
* state executive department employees
* judicial branch of government employees

CAN YOU BECOME A LOBBYIST AGENT?

When a person is communicating directly with a public official for the purpose of influencing either legislative action or administrative action on the state level, that person is lobbying.

The next question is: Can you ever become a lobbyist agent? The answers to the following questions decide that.

1. Are you an elected local or state public official? __NO __YES
   If yes, you are exempt.

2. Is your term of office prescribed by statute, charter ordinance, or the state constitution? __NO __YES
   If yes, you are exempt, but only while working within the scope or course of your office for no compensation other than that provided by law.

3. Do you serve at the pleasure of your appointing authority? (Does not apply to any appointed member of a state-level board or commission.) __NO __YES
   If yes, you are exempt, but only while working within the scope or course of your office for no compensation other than that provided by law.

4. Are you the publisher, owner, or working member of press, radio or television? __NO __YES
   If yes, you are exempt while disseminating news or editorial comment in the ordinary course of business.

5. Are you an official in the executive branch or an official in the legislative branch of state government? __NO __YES
   If yes, you are exempt, unless you are a member of a state-level board or commission.

6. Are you being compensated or reimbursed for expenses by a church or religious institution for lobbying? __NO __YES
   If yes, you are exempt.

If you answered "YES" to any of the above questions and met the conditions of that question, you will not be considered a lobbyist or lobbyist agent regardless of the amount of expenditures you make or the compensation you receive for lobbying.

Please remember, however, that although a person is exempt in one category, that person may still become a lobbyist or lobbyist agent because of some other activity. Therefore, it is important to view your particular situation and the circumstances of any lobby activity in which you are involved to determine whether you may qualify as either a lobbyist agent or lobbyist. For example, an official in the executive branch of state government is automatically exempt, but this official, as a member of the board of directors of some other organization, is not automatically exempt when lobbying on behalf of that organization. Then, the expenditure or compensation tests must be used to determine if you or your organization have to register as a lobbyist agent or lobbyist.

Also, keep in mind that although an individual may be exempt, the agency, association or organization which the individual represents may qualify as a lobbyist if it meets the expenditure tests. Any public agency (e.g., a state department, state board or a commission, the supreme court or other courts, the executive office, colleges, universities, other governmental units, etc.) will become a lobbyist if it expends $1,000.00 or more in a 12-month period for lobbying (only $250.00 in the 12-month period if the amount is expended on lobbying just one public official). However, the amount of compensation or reimbursement paid to an exempt person does not count toward the threshold or afterwards and is not reportable.

At any time the state or a political subdivision contracts for a lobbyist agent, it becomes a lobbyist regardless of the dollar amount.

The following chart will illustrate for certain individuals who lobby whether or not those individuals qualify as lobbyist agents. This is not intended to be a complete list.

Individual (see statute specific definitions)	Who	Could that individual qualify as a lobbyist agent?
1. If an appointed or elected local public official lobbies	a. a state department head	NO
	b. a state elected public official	NO
	c. a listed unclassified state employee of the executive branch	NO
	d. a member of the legislature	NO
	e. a listed employee of the legislature in a policy-making capacity	NO
	f. a member of a state level board or commission	NO
2. If a state elected public official, a state department head, or an unclassified state employee of the executive branch lobbies	a. a state department head	NO
	b. a state elected public official	NO
	c. a listed unclassified state employee of the executive branch	NO
	d. a member of the legislature	NO
	e. a listed employee of the legislature in a policy-making capacity	NO
	f. a member of a state level board or commission	NO
3. If a civil service employee lobbies	a. an elected or appointed head of his/her department	NO*
	b. a listed unclassified employee of his/her department	NO*
	c. any other civil service employee of any department	NO
	d. a member of the legislature	YES
	e. a listed employee of the legislature (in a policy-making capacity)	YES
	f. a member of a state level board or commission who is a policymaker	YES

Individual (see statute specific definitions)	Who	Could that individual qualify as a lobbyist agent?
4. If an employee of the legislature lobbies	a. a state elected public official	NO
	b. a state department head	NO
	c. any member or employee of the legislature	NO
	d. any state employee of the executive branch	NO
	e. a member of a state level board or commission	NO
5. If a member of a state level board or commission lobbies	a. an elected or appointed head or listed unclassified employee of his/her department	NO*
	b. an elected or appointed head or listed unclassified employee of another department	YES
	c. a member of the legislature	YES
	d. a listed employee of the legislature	YES
	e. a member of another state level board or commission who is a policymaker	YES
6. If an employee of a city, village, township, county, school district, private or public college or university, or junior or community college lobbies	a. a state elected public official	YES
	b. a state department head	YES
	c. a listed unclassified state employee of the executive branch	YES
	d. a member of the legislature	YES
	e. a listed employee of the legislature	YES
	f. a member of a state level board or commission who is a policymaker	YES
7. If a private citizen lobbies	a. a state elected public official	YES
	b. a state department head	YES
	c. a listed unclassified state employee of the executive branch	YES
	d. a member of the legislature	YES
	e. a listed employee of the legislature (in a policymaking capacity)	YES
	f. a member of a state level board or commission who is a policymaker	YES
	g. a state civil service employee	NO

NOTE: Items number 1 through 6 only cover those people listed while acting in their official capacities. It is possible that the person may in fact be lobbying as a private citizen (Item #7) on some other issue not related to work.

The Department prepares and distributes a list of the public officials of the legislative branch and executive branch who can be lobbied. This is what is referred to where the term "listed" is used above.

*There are occasions when this type of lobbying may mean the individual qualifies as a lobbyist agent. These occasions occur when an employee of one state agency is lobbying an official of another state agency within the same state department where communication is not required by statute, rule or custom and where, in effect, the individual and the state agency which is lobbying is likely to be one of the competing vested interests involved in the possible administrative action.

BECOMING A LOBBYIST OR LOBBYIST AGENT

As noted before, although a person is lobbying, that person does not become a lobbyist agent or lobbyist until the dollar threshold figures are reached. The only exception to this is the state or a political subdivision which contracts for a lobbyist agent. In that case, the state or political subdivision becomes a lobbyist immediately, regardless of the dollar amount.

For all others, the dollar amount determines whether or not the person is required to register and file reports.

THE LOBBYIST THRESHOLD

A person becomes a lobbyist when expenditures for lobbying are:

more than $1,000.00 in value
in any 12-month period

-OR-

more than $250.00 in value in
any 12-month period, if the
amount is expended on lobbying
a single public official.

Note that the totals accumulate for any 12-month period, and not during a calendar year. This means that if the first lobbying expenditure is made in November, for example, the person should keep track of further expenditures through October of the next year to see if and when the threshold is reached. Should one go 12 months and still not total to the threshold, the person would drop the earliest month in order to always have a 12-month time frame in which to see if compensation, reimbursement, or expenditures for lobbying qualify for the person as a lobbyist (or lobbyist agent).

Although any expenditures made prior to reaching the threshold do not have to be recorded or reported, it is useful to know what expenditures do count toward that threshold.

The following are those expenditures:

(1) expenditures made on behalf of a public official for the purpose of influencing legislative or administrative action.

Some examples are:
(a) food and beverage costs
(b) tickets, gifts.

(2) expenditures incurred at the request or suggestion or a lobbyist agent or member or a lobbyist, or furnished for the assistance or use of a lobbyist agent or member of a lobbyist while engaged in lobbying. See the travel expenses exemption on page 26.

Some examples of expenditures that are counted are:
(a) printed materials, slide presentations, etc.
(b) catering costs
(c) hall rental costs
(d) postage, telephone, telegraph
(e) costs of preparation of materials
(f) research
(g) clerical costs

(3) compensation paid to or due lobbyist agents, or employees or member of a lobbyist, for that portion of their time devoted to lobbying and for preparing materials to be used in the lobbying effort.

Always remember that expenditures or compensation only count for those specific activities related to communicating directly. The answers to the following questions determine whether or not the expenditure is an expenditure related to the performance of lobbying or is an expenditure for lobbying:

1. Is it a payment on behalf of a public official for the purpose of influencing legislative or administrative action? __NO __YES

2. Is it a payment that is made to influence legislative or administrative action? __NO __YES

3. Other than for a travel-related expense, is it an actual expense for lobbying (whether in the form of an advance or reimbursement)? __NO __YES

4. Due to the activity of communicating directly, is it an expenditure for influencing a public official, including providing or using information, statistics, studies, or analysis when communicating directly with a public official? __NO __YES

Unless there is at least one "YES" answer, the payment or expense is not an expenditure that would be counted toward the threshold figure.

THE LOBBYIST AGENT THRESHOLD

A person becomes a lobbyist agent when that person's compensation or reimbursement of actual expenses, or both, together total over $250.00 in any 12-month period. Only the compensation or reimbursement of actual expenses which is for lobbying count toward the threshold figure.

If a lobbyist agent is a firm employing individuals who lobby, these individuals will also become lobbyist agents if they individually meet the compensation and reimbursement threshold tests. In these instances, the client is the lobbyist, the lobbying firm is a lobbyist agent, and each individual of the lobbying firm would be a lobbyist agent also.

Compensation is anything of monetary value received from or due from a person for lobbying. Compensation can be in the form of fees, salary, forbearance, forgiveness, or some other form of recompense.

Actual expenses are those payments that a person makes for lobbying, and would normally include such things as compensation for labor, food and beverage costs, clerical costs, and other expenses incurred because of lobbying.

Although any compensation or reimbursement received prior to reaching the threshold does not have to be recorded or reported, it is useful to know what they are to know when the threshold is reached. Therefore, to determine if a person has become a lobbyist agent, the following compensation and reimbursement are combined and totaled to determined when the $250.00 figure for lobbying is exceeded:

1. Reimbursement for expenditures made on behalf of a public official for the purpose of influencing legislative or administrative action.

2. Other than travel expenses, reimbursement for expenses made to influence legislative or administrative action.

3. Compensation received for that portion of time devoted to lobbying.

Always remember that compensation or reimbursement only counts for those specific activities related to communicating directly.

The answers to the following questions determine whether or not the compensation or reimbursement is related to lobbying.

1. Is it reimbursement for expenditures on behalf of a public official for the purpose of influencing legislative or administrative action? __NO __YES

2. Is it reimbursement for other expenditures made to influence legislative or administrative action? __NO __YES

3. Due to the activity of communicating directly, is it reimbursement of expenditures made for the preparation of, providing of, or use of information, statistics, studies, or analysis when communicating directly with a public offical? __NO __YES

4. Is it compensation received for that time devoted to lobbying or preparing to lobby? __NO __YES

Whenever there is a YES answer, that compensation or reimbursement would count toward the threshold figure to determine whether $250.00 or more has been received for lobbying in a 12-month period.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

For a lobbyist

Once a person reaches the threshold for being a lobbyist, a registration form has to be filed with the Department of State. The address is:

Lobby Registration
P.O. Box 20126
Lansing, Michigan 48901

For questions, the telephone number is: (517)373-7655.

The registration form must be filed no later than 15 calendar days after the day the person becomes a lobbyist, which is when the person meets the threshold test.

A person who files a registration form late will be assessed a late registration fee of $10.00 for each day the filing is late, including Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, up to a maximum late filing fee of $300.00.

A registration form is deemed to be filed when it is received, NOT when it is mailed. Therefore, allow some lead time when mailing the form, which has to be received by 4:00 p.m. of the filing deadline.

To ensure timely filing by mail, a registration form should be sent by certified or registered mail two days or more before the deadline. In this case, the Department of State must consider the form to have been filed on time, regardless of when it is received.

A filing can also be hand-delivered. The office is located on the first floor of the Mutual Building, 208 North Capitol, Lansing. The same 4:00 p.m. deadline applies.

A registration is to be filed in duplicate on forms approved by and provided by the Department of State. If a registration form is NOT complete, NOT legible, or NOT signed, it will NOT be accepted. The form must be signed by the individual who is the lobbyist or signed by an authorized individual when the lobbyist is not an individual.

The registration form must contain the following information:

(a) The name and address of the lobbyist.
(b) The name and address of each person employed by the lobbyist for lobbying.
(c) The name and address of each person reimbursed for expenses which exceed $10.00 for lobbying.
(d) The name and address of each person compensated for lobbying.
(e) The fiscal year of the lobbyist.

For a Lobbyist Agent

Once a person reaches the threshold for being a lobbyist agent, a registration form has to be filed with the Department of State. The address is:

Lobby Registration
P.O. Box 20126
Lansing, Michigan 48901

Again, the telephone number for information is: (517)373-7655.

The registration form must be filed no later than 3 calendar days after the day the person becomes a lobbyist agent, which is when the person meets the threshold test.

A person who files a registration form late will be assessed a late registration fee of $10.00 for each day the filing is late, including Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, up to a maximum late filing fee of $300.00.

A registration form is deemed to be filed when it is received, NOT when it is mailed. Therefore, allow some lead time when mailing the form, which has to be received by 4:00 p.m. of the filing deadline.

To ensure timely filing by mail, a registration form should be sent by certified or registered mail two days or more before the deadline. In this case, the Department of State must consider the form to have been filed on time, regardless of when it is received.

A filing can also be hand-delivered. The office is located on the first floor of the Mutual Building, 208 North Capitol, Lansing. The same 4:00 p.m. deadline applies.

A registration is to be filed in duplicate on forms approved by and provided by the Department of State. If a registration form is NOT complete, NOT legible, or NOT signed, it will NOT be accepted. The form must be signed by the individual who is the lobbyist agent or signed by an authorized individual when the lobbyist agent is not an individual.

The registration form must contain the following information.

(a) The name and office address of the lobbyist agent, if the lobbyist agent is not an individual (e.g., firm or business).
(b) The name, permanent resident address, and office address of the lobbyist agent, if the lobbyist agent is an individual.
(c) The name and address of each person employed by the lobbyist agent for lobbying.
(d) The name and address of each person reimbursed for expenses which exceed $10.00 for lobbying.
(e) The name and address of each person compensated for lobbying.

Only one lobbyist agent registers on each form. In addition, a lobbyist agent need only register once as compensation or reimbursement received from all the lobbyist agent's clients are combined together for both registration and reporting.

REQUIRED REPORTS

Each lobbyist and lobbyist agent is required to file periodic financial reports with the Department of State. These reports serve two primary purposes:

(1) They update the information required to be filed on the original registration forms; and

(2) They give an account of all expenditures for lobbying by a lobbyist, a lobbyist agent, or a representative of a lobbyist.

The required reports must be signed by the individual lobbyist or lobbyist agent (or the authorized individual when the lobbyist or lobbyist agent is not an individual). A lobbyist agent who is an individual must sign his/her own report. They must be submitted on forms approved by and provided by the Department of State and be both legible and complete. If a report is NOT signed or NOT legible, it will NOT be accepted.

Filing Deadline

In general, two reports are filed each calendar year. One report is filed on or before August 31 covering the period January 1 to July 31 of that year. The other report is filed on or before January 31 of each year and it covers the period from August 1 to December 31 of the previous year.

For an explanation of when a person can receive an extension of the filing deadline, see page 19.

All lobbyist agents and lobbyists are required to file these reports. However, a lobbyist agent can file a required report for a lobbyist on whose behalf the lobbyist agent is acting. A lobbyist agent who employs other lobbyist agents must also report on the activities of all employee lobbyist agents in the employer report.

The filing deadline is 4:00 p.m. on the day required. Any person who fails to file a required report by that time is assessed a late filing fee of $10.00 for each calendar day (including Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays) the report is late, up to a maximum fee of $300.00, unless a waiver of the late filing fee is granted for good cause. For an explanation of the waiver, see page 19.

The timeliness of a filing is based on when it is received, not when it is mailed by the filer. However, if a person uses certified or registered mail to send the report 2 or more days before the filing deadline, by statute it is considered to be filed on time no matter when it is actually received. Of course, a report can be hand-delivered instead of mailed. The office location is the first floor of the Mutual Building, 208 North Capitol, Lansing. The same 4:00 p.m. deadline applies.

If a report has not been filed by the 30th day after the filing deadline, and no extension has been granted, notice of that fact will be sent to the Attorney General, and the filer may be subject to misdemeanor penalties.

Extensions of Deadlines and Waivers of Late Filing Fees

A filing deadline for a financial report can be extended for up to 60 days by the Department of State if there is "good cause" for the extension.

Likewise, a late filing fee assessed against a lobbyist or lobbyist agent can be waived if there is "good cause" for the waiver.

In either case, the request must be in writing.

"Good cause" for the extension or waiver consists of any of the following reasons:

1. for the person required to file, incapacitating physical illness, hospitalization, accident involvement, death, or incapacitation for medical reasons.
2. for a person whose participation is essential to the filing of the statement or report, incapacitating physical illness, hospitalization, accident involvement, death, or incapacitation for medical reasons.
3. for a member of the immediate family* of the persons noted above, incapacitating physical illness, hospitalization, accident involvement, death, or incapacitation for medical reasons.

*immediate family means a child residing in the individual's household, a spouse of the individual, or an individual claimed by that individual or that individual's spouse as a dependent for federal income tax purposes.

4. loss or unavailability of records due to fire, floods, or theft.
5. difficulties related to ensuring the arrival of the filing, such as exceptionally bad weather, or strikes involving transportation systems.

In addition to the request, the Department must also receive documentation sufficient to satisfy the Department that the request is justified. The person making the request will be notified, in writing, of the decision of the Department.

Requests for extensions or waivers should be addressed to:

Lobby Registration
P.O. Box 20126
Lansing, Michigan 48901

If you have questions, telephone: (517)373-7655.

CONTENTS OF FINANCIAL REPORTS

Each financial report filed by a lobbyist or a lobbyist agent must contain the following information:

1. Any changes or amendments to the original registration. These changes or amendments are incorporated within the periodic reports and avoid requiring the lobbyist or lobbyist agent to file a separate amended registration form.

2. Expenditures for food and beverages which are provided a public official, if the expenditure for that public official exceeds $25.00 in any month covered by the report (or $150.00 from January of the year covered by the report). Once that threshold is reached, all subsequent expenditures for food and beverages during the calendar year for that public official must be itemized.

   The report shall include the name and title (or office) of the public official and each expenditure on that public official for the months covered by the report and for the year from January 1. These expenditures for food and beverages are reportable whether or not lobbying occurs, or the meal was declared as a business expense, or the lobbyist agent sought reimbursement from a lobbyist. Also, whether or not the food or beverages are provided in a restaurant, at a house, at a barbeque, etc. is irrelevant; the expenditure is reportable. One exception to this is when the public official and the lobbyist agent have an immediate family relationship, such as a husband and wife.

   If more than one public official is provided food and beverage and only a single check is used, the amount for each public official can be the average of the amount provided for all the public officials.

   There is a different reporting requirement on food and beverages in either of the two following instances:

   (a) an event at which more than 25 public officials were in attendance; or

   (b) an event to which an entire standing committee of the legislature was invited. This applies only if the invitation were in writing and the purpose of the event was to inform the committee concerning a bill assigned to that committee.

   In these cases, the lobbyist or lobbyist agent shall file a statement which gives a description (by category) of the persons in attendance and the nature of each event held during the period covered by the report. Only the total amount expended on all the public officials in attendance is reported.

3. Advertising and mass mailing expenses directly related to lobbying. A mass mailing is any mailing of substantially similar material where 1,000 or more are mailed within a 7-day period. The mailing or advertising expenses are reported only when the expenses are for communicating directly with a public official for the purpose of influencing legislative or administrative action.

Excluded are:

a. Materials which are produced in the normal course of publication, even when some are directed to public officials as a result of being complimentary copies or are provided by subscription.

b. Publications to members of trade or membership organizations.

c. Clip-out coupons or post cards provided to the public or membership, if mailed directly to the public official by the public or member. However, if these coupons or post cards are returned to the lobbyist or lobbyist agent for mailing, the entire expense for the production of the materials is reportable.

4. An account of financial transactions between:

(a) a lobbyist and a public official;
(b) a lobbyist and a member of the public official's immediate family;
(c) a lobbyist and a business with which a public official (or a member of that public official's immediate family) is associated;
(d) a lobbyist agent and a public official;
(e) a lobbyist agent and a member of the public official's immediate family;
(f) a lobbyist agent and a business with which the public official (or a member of that public official's immediate family) is associated;
(g) a person acting on behalf of the lobbyist or lobbyist agent and a public official;
(h) a person acting on behalf of the lobbyist or lobbyist agent and a member of the public official's immediate family;
(i) a person acting on behalf of the lobbyist or lobbyist agent and a business with which a public official (or a member of that public official's immediate family) is associated.

Only a financial transaction that involves goods and services having a value of at least $500.00 must be reported. Each account of a financial transaction that is required to be reported must show:

(a) the date of the transaction
(b) the nature of the transaction
(c) the parties to the transaction
(d) the amount involved in the transaction.

*A financial transaction is any loan, purchase, sale, or other type of transfer or exchange of money, goods, other property, or services or value. It does not include a transaction undertaken in the ordinary course of business of a lobbyist if:

*the primary business of the lobbyist is something other than lobbying, and if consideration of equal or greater value is received by the lobbyist.

*fair market value is given or received for a benefit conferred.

If the above criteria are met, this would exclude:

(a) credit transactions between public officials and firms.
(b) loans by financial institutions to public officials.
(c) mortgages, stock purchases, stock exchanges, savings or checking accounts.
(d) other types of accounts in financial institutions.

The Lobby Law makes a clear distinction between financial transactions involving lobbyists (see box above) and those involving lobbyist agents. ANY financial transaction between a lobbyist agent and a public official if it meets the dollar value has to be reported. There are no financial transactions between lobbyist agents and public officials which are exempt from disclosure. These can include (not a complete list):

(a) A doctor, psychologist, therapist, chiropractor, counselor who is a lobbyist agent and a patient or client who is a public official.

(b) An individual lobbyist agent who is the spouse of a public official.

(c) A lobbyist agent in a landlord-tenant relationship with a public official.

(d) A lobbyist agent who enters into a financial arrangement or business agreement with a public official.

Remember, public official is not just the individual public official, but the public official's immediate family, and any business with which the public official and/or the public official's immediate family is associated.

The following are the relevant statutory definitions for the financial transaction reporting requirement:

Sec. 3(3). "Financial transaction" means a loan, purchase, sale, or other type of transfer or exchange of money, goods, other property, or services for value.

Sec. 2(3). "Business with which the individual is associated" means a business in which any of the following applies:

(a) The individual is a partner, director, officer, or employer.

(b) A member of the individuals' immediate family if a partner, director, officer or employer.

(c) The individual or a member of the individual's immediate family is a stockholder of close corporation stock worth $1,000.00 or more at fair market value or which represents more than 5% equity interest, or is a stockholder of publicly traded stock worth $10,000.00 or more at fair market value or which represents more than 10% equity interest. This subdivision does not apply to publicly traded stock under a trading account if the filer reports the name and address of the stockholder.

Sec. 2(2). "Business" means a corporation, partnership, sole proprietorship, firm, enterprise, franchise, association, organization, self-employed individual, holding company, joint stock company, receivership, trust, activity, or entity which is organized for profit or nonprofit purposes.

Sec. 4(2). "Immediate family" means a child residing in an individual's household, a spouse of an individual, or an individual claimed by that individual or that individual's spouse as a dependent for federal income tax purposes.

5. All other expenditures for lobbying made or incurred by:
   - * a lobbyist
   - * a lobbyist agent
   - * an employee of a lobbyist or lobbyist agent.

   Any petty cash expenditures of less than $5.00, where a receipt or proof of purchase is not normally available, does not have to be included.

   As noted under the recordkeeping sections (page 26), "expenditures for lobbying" include any of the following:

   (a) A payment made on behalf of a public official for the purpose of influencing legislative or administrative action.

   (b) A payment made to influence legislative or administrative action.

   (c) Actual expenses for lobbying (other than travel expenses), whether in the form of an advance or a reimbursement.

   (d) When engaged in the activity of communicating directly, an expenditure for providing or using information, statistics, studies, or analysis for that activity.

6. A brief description of the lobbying activities engaged in during the reporting period covered by the report.

SELECTED POINTS TO REMEMBER

Employees who lobby for, but not at the direction or control of, their employer, do not incur expenditures that are reportable by their employer.

Employees who lobby at the direction and control of their employer do incur expenditures reportable by their employer. This is true even if the employer does not compensate the employee for the time spent lobbying. The employer will assign a reasonable value to the employee's lobbying effort.

Employees on salary, rather than on hourly rate, may incur expenditures that the employer must report if the employees lobby for an issue that is related to the business of the employer. Again, the employer will assign a reasonable value to the salaried employee's lobbying effort.

If a lobbyist is a membership organization or association, the membership organization or association (the lobbyist) must show the expenditures it makes to its members who lobby. This shows the compensation it paid to the members for lobbying or for the reimbursement of expenses incurred by the member for lobbying. However, any member who receives compensation or reimbursement for lobbying on behalf of the organization or association is exempt from the registration or reporting requirements of the Lobby Law.

STATUTORY PROHIBITIONS

Gifts

A lobbyist or lobbyist agent may not give a gift to a public official. As defined, a gift is any item with a value of $25.00 or more. This prohibition never includes the exchange of presents between family members. It also does not include:

* campaign contributions
* ordinary loans
* breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, refreshments
* donations to Officeholder Expense Funds.

NOTE: Although not prohibited, ordinary loans from lobbyist agents are reportable; from lobbyists, not reportable (see "Financial Transactions"). Breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, refreshments, while not prohibited, are reportable. Campaign contributions and donations to Officeholder Expense Funds, while not here prohibited, are regulated by the Campaign Finance Act (Act 388 of 1976, as amended).

Contingent Fees

A person cannot be employed as a lobbyist agent under a contingent fee arrangement. This is where compensation is contingent on the outcome of an administrative or legislative action.

Public Officials

A public official is not permitted to accept compensation or reimbursement, other than from the state, for personally engaging in lobbying. This prohibition does not apply to an individual who is appointed or elected to a board or commission but is not an ex-officio member or is not prohibited from having other employment.

TERMINATION

When a lobbyist ceases lobbying, a notice of termination is to be filed with Lobby Registration within 30 days.

Any time a lobbyist agent ceases lobbying, a notice of termination is to be filed with Lobby Registration within 30 days.

The notices of termination are incorporated into the regular financial reports that the lobbyists and lobbyist agents are required to periodically file. The reports would update to the date of termination the financial information required to be filed.

These notices of termination should be mailed to:

Lobby Registration
P.O. Box 20126
Lansing, Michigan 48901

RECORDKEEPING

The required semi-annual reports due from both lobbyists and lobbyist agents require that certain records be kept and certain information be reported.

While a person should keep track of financial activity related to lobbying for determining when the thresholds for registration are reached, the financial reports are required to show only those expenditures or compensation from the date the person became a lobbyist or lobbyist agent.

Any reasonable accounting method may be used to maintain itemized accounts. Original source records (bills, receipts, books, papers, checks, etc.) must be kept to support the itemized accounts. Whatever records are necessary to substantiate the information on the reports filed must be kept by the lobbyist and lobbyist agent for 5 years after the report that contains that information is filed.

Certain expenditures are exempt from the recordkeeping and reporting requirements of the Lobby Law. They are:

1. Overhead expenses. These are the costs of rent, equipment, supplies, taxes, utilities, maintenance and other ongoing expenses incurred for the establishment and upkeep of a business.

2. Travel expenses. These are lodging, transportation and meals to and from visiting a public official for the purpose of lobbying.

3. Technical information. This is empirically verifiable data provided to an official legislative committee or executive department hearing panel by a person who is an expert in the subject area. This exclusion never applies to information (technical or not) provided by a lobbyist agent or an employee of a lobbyist agent.

Once a person has reached the threshold, recordkeeping and reporting will be required for any expenditure made on behalf of a public official for the purpose of influencing legislative or administrative action.

Examples of these are the costs of food, beverage, gifts and tickets provided a public official. If the lobbyist or lobbyist agent's firm reimburses the cost of providing these items, this is an expenditure that must be recorded and reported by the lobbyist or lobbyist agent's firm as well as by the lobbyist agent who made the original expenditure. It is always assumed that the providing of food, beverage, gifts, and tickets to a public official is made to influence legislative or administrative action. This is so whether or not a legislative or administrative action is discussed at the time the items are provided. Remember, however, that the giving of any gift having a value of $25.00 is prohibited from a lobbyist (or lobbyist agent) to a public official.

With regard to food and beverage provided for public officials, an itemized account of all such expenditures, regardless of amount, must be kept. The account will show the date and amount of the expenditure, the name and title (or office) of the public official for whom the expenditure was made, and the name of the lobbyist agent (or representative of the lobbyist*) who purchased the food or beverage for the public official.

*"representative of the lobbyist" means:

1. an employee of the lobbyist.
2. a person who is reimbursed by the lobbyist for an expenditure (except for food and beverage) which was incurred for the purpose of lobbying and who is not a lobbyist agent.
3. in the case where the lobbyist is a membership organization or association, a member of the lobbyist (or employee of that member), but only during a period when purchased food and beverage is consumed and a lobbyist agent (or employee of a lobbyist or lobbyist agent) is present.

Where more than one public official is provided the food and beverage, but only one check or voucher is rendered, the itemized expenditure account can show the average amount for each public official.

There is a different recordkeeping requirement for food and beverage where 25 or more public officials were in attendance or when an entire standing committee of the legislature was invited in writing with regard to a bill assigned that committee. In these cases, the record need show only the total amount expended on the public officials for the food and beverage, the names of the public officials who were in attendance, and the nature of the event or function that was held.

An itemized account of all other expenditures related to the performance of lobbying must also be kept. Any single expenditure of $100.01 or more has to be separately itemized, showing the date, purpose, and name and address of the person who received the expenditure.

For recordkeeping purposes (as is true for reporting purposes), expenditures must also show those expenses for providing or using information, statistics, studies, or analysis for lobbying that would not have been incurred but for the activity of lobbying. This means that both the time spent preparing a presentation and the time spent delivering it to the public official (e.g., a legislative committee) must be counted. Any information that was prepared for some other purpose but ends up being used to lobby is not to be counted, except for retrieval costs for gathering or reformating that information. Also, for keeping track of expenditures, the following need to be highlighted:

1. If a lobbyist agent pays for food, beverages, gifts, and tickets for a public official, the lobbyist agent will show that as an expenditure.
2. If the lobbyist pays for food, beverages, gift or tickets for a public official, the lobbyist will show that as an expenditure.
3. In all instances, if a lobbyist agent incurs or makes an expenditure which is later reimbursed by another lobbyist agent or by a lobbyist, the agent incurring or making the expense will have to show the expense in the appropriate category. The person reimbursing the cost will show that as an "other expenditure" on the financial reports.

4. Reportable "All Other Expenditures" includes:

   - compensation paid to a person for lobbying
   - research performed for lobbying
   - secretarial time for typing lobbying materials
   - data operator's and programmer's compensation
   - materials specifically prepared for lobbying, such as
     - letters
     - media presentations
     - printouts
     - graphs
     - position papers

   All these incurred research and preparations expenses must be recorded (and eventually reported) from that point when an official decision is made to lobby.

   In addition, supplies and materials and other expenses incurred or paid due to lobbying also are to be recorded. Some examples of these can be postage, telephone and telegraph costs for a specific lobby purpose, hall rental costs, catering costs, etc.

5. For reportable mass mailing and advertising costs, the preparation costs (whether in-house or contractural) are reportable also and are to be recorded.

6. The presence of a person at a meeting does not constitute lobbying unless the person directly communicates (orally or in writing) with a public official. However, if a person present at a meeting provides input to another person who is lobbying, that first person is considered to be lobbying also. Records should reflect the compensated time.

7. Any expenditure for the purpose of suggesting or encouraging others to lobby is not reportable and does not have to be recorded.

8. Compensation received by a person for lobbying is not a reportable expenditure by the recipient; compensation paid to a person for lobbying is a reportable expenditure by the person making the expenditure.

Michigan Department of State
Lobby Registration

LOBBYIST REGISTRATION

OFFICE USE ONLY

1. LOBBYIST IDENTIFICATION NO. L	2. TYPE OF FILING a. ☐ Registration b. ☐ Amendment

3. LOBBYIST FULL NAME AND OFFICE ADDRESS

Business Phone

4. DATE BECAME LOBBYIST

Mo. Day Yr

5. LOBBYIST FISCAL YEAR

From:

To:

6. LIST THE NAME AND BUSINESS ADDRESS OF EACH PERSON EMPLOYED, REIMBURSED OR COMPENSATED FOR LOBBYING (attach additional sheets, if needed).

-439-

8. Verification: I certify that all reasonable diligence was used in the preparation of the above form, and that the contents are true, and accurate to the best of my knowledge.

Authorized Signature 467 / /
Type or Print Name Signature Date

468

LR-1

It is unlawful to use this information for any commercial purpose

LOBBYIST REGISTRATION

- File this form to register as a LOBBYIST under Michigan's Lobby Registration Act, P.A. 472 of 1978.
- Type or clearly print the required information.
- Complete every applicable item. If an item does not apply, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." Incomplete forms will be rejected and subject to late filing fees.

INSTRUCTIONS

ITEM 1 Leave Item 1 blank; an identification number will be assigned after this form has been filed.

ITEM 2 a. Check if the lobbyist is registering with this statement.

b. Check if the lobbyist is filing to correct information which was previously submitted on this form. To file an amendment, enter the lobbyist's identification number, name and address and then complete those items needing correction. Sign Item 8 after completing the amendment.

ITEM 3 Enter the lobbyist's full name, address and telephone number.

ITEM 4 Enter the date when the person became a "LOBBYIST" as defined by the Act. A lobbyist must file a registration form within 15 days of becoming a lobbyist.

ITEM 5 Enter the fiscal year of the lobbyist. The fiscal year is the 12-month period used by the lobbyist to keep financial records.

ITEM 6 List the name and address of each person:

employed by the lobbyist
OR reimbursed by the lobbyist for expenses which exceed $10.00
OR compensated by the lobbyist
FOR LOBBYING IN MICHIGAN.

NOTE: Be sure to list ALL persons who fall into these categories - including those persons who do not meet the definition of a lobbyist agent under the Act.

ITEM 7 Deleted.

ITEM 8 Sign after completing the form. An original, authorized signature is required.

Michigan Department of State
Lobby Registration

LOBBYIST AGENT REGISTRATION

OFFICE USE ONL.

1. LOBBYIST AGENT IDENTIFICATION NO.
A

2. TYPE OF FILING
a. ☐ Registration
b. ☐ Amendment

3a. IF INDIVIDUAL, LOBBYIST AGENT'S:

Full Name:

Residence Address:

Business Address:

Business Phone:

3b. IF NOT INDIVIDUAL, LOBBYIST AGENT'S:

Full Name:

Business Address:

Phone:

4. DATE BECAME LOBBYIST AGENT

Mo Day Yr.

5. LIST THE NAME AND BUSINESS ADDRESS OF EACH PERSON EMPLOYED, REIMBURSED OR COMPENSATED FOR LOBBYING
(attach additional sheets, if needed).

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7. Verification: I certify that all reasonable diligence was used in the preparation of the above form, and that the contents are true, and accurate to the best of my knowledge.

Authorized Signature ______ / ______ / ______
Type or Print Name Signature Date

It is unlawful to use this information for any commercial purpose

LR-2

LOBBYIST AGENT REGISTRATION

- File this form to register as a LOBBYIST AGENT under Michigan's Lobby Registration Act, P.A. 472 of 1978.
- Type or clearly print the required information.
- Complete every applicable item. If an item does not apply, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." Incomplete forms will be rejected and subject to filing fees.

INSTRUCTIONS

ITEM 1 Leave Item 1 blank; an identification number will be assigned after this form has been filed.

ITEM 2 a. Check if the lobbyist agent is registering with this statement.

b. Check if the lobbyist agent is filing to correct information which was previously submitted on this form. To file an amendment, enter the lobbyist agent's identification number, name and address and then complete those Items needing correction. Sign Item 7 after completing the amendment.

ITEM 3 a. Enter the lobbyist agent's full name, business address, residential address and telephone number.

OR

b. If the lobbyist agent is not an individual, enter the lobbyist agent's full name, address and telephone number.

ITEM 4 Enter the date when the person became a "LOBBYIST AGENT" as defined by the Act. A lobbyist agent must file a registration form within 3 days of becoming a lobbyist agent.

ITEM 5 List the name and address of each person:

employed by the lobbyist agent
OR reimbursed by the lobbyist agent for expenses which exceed $10.00
OR compensated by the lobbyist agent
FOR LOBBYING IN MICHIGAN.

NOTE: Be sure to list ALL persons who fall into these categories - including those persons who do not meet the definition of a lobbyist agent under the Act.

ITEM 6 Deleted.

ITEM 7 Sign after completing the form. An original, authorized signature is required.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks is extended to individuals listed below who assisted in the development of this document:

Ms. Janice Blanck
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Genesee Intermediate School District

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Wayne Intermediate School District

Teachers who participated in the planning and review process:

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Carman-Ainsworth Community Schools

Mr. Martin Trepus
Davison Community Schools

Mr. John Davidek
Flint Community Schools

Mr. Dean Bagnall
Kearsley Community Schools

Ms. Barbara E. Leslie
Detroit Public Schools

Mr. George Alperwitz
Lincoln Park Schools

Ms. Rhoda Maxwell
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East Lansing

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Graphics

Special thanks are extended to Dr. Rae Levis, Associate Superintendent, Wayne Intermediate School District and Ms. Rachael Moreno, Associate Superintendent, Genesee Intermediate School District for the support and leadership they have provided for this activity.

Thanks is also extended to the Michigan Mock Election State Steering Committee which will be responsible for disseminating the materials.

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